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MAIN BUILDING, MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE

UNION SEMINARY REVIEW

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MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE

A Century of Service*

By L. Wilson Jarman, M. A., LL. D.,
President of Mary Baldwin College,
Staunton, Virginia

From Geneva to Staunton is a far cry; yet when in early 1842 Dr. Rufus William Bailey rode into Staunton, there were merging again by his coming two currents of Calvinism three hundred years from their source—separated long before from the parent stream on the continent and divided again by geography into the Puritans of England and New England and the Presbyterians of Scotland and Virginia. Thus in simple quietude were the beginnings of an institution that came to be an early part of one of the most significant movements of all time, a movement that was inevitable from the central core of Calvin's thought: the dignity and worth of the individual. I speak of the movement designated as the emergence or emancipation of women, implicit in the Christian concept,—a seed planted 1,800 years, and beginning to come to fruit by way of formal higher education of women about one hundred years ago.

Thus was born Augusta Female Seminary, the Mary Baldwin of today, the oldest of the Virginia colleges for women founded solely for the higher education of women.

*An address delivered before the Synod of Virginia, at Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Va., September 9, 1942.

I. Great Movements of the Hundred Years

And into what kind of a world was this infant born? The historian tells that this "was a great Age of Reform. After the reaction which followed the French Revolution, there had arisen in 1830 a new revolutionary movement, initiated in France, which gave impetus to similar movements in other parts of Europe and to the Great Reform in England. Jacksonian Democracy was in part the expression of this great liberalizing social philosophy in the United States. This reform movement embodied far more than a demand for a more democratic form of government. It was a great wave of uplift; of humanitarianism. World peace, foreign missions, the emancipation of the slaves, labor reforms, temperance, popular education, woman's rights—these were some only of the more general objectives."

This century through which our institution has lived has been alive with the stirrings of human, social and economic evolution. Three great currents of movement should be noted, for we can understand the life history of any institution only by understanding the contemporary frame in which the passing scene is set.

One of these movements can be designated as the continued technological advance of the industrial revolution, having its beginnings in an earlier day. While our seminary and college has had little part in the forwarding of this technological movement, it has been greatly influenced by the social and economic changes arising therefrom. Such institutions as this, however, have been able by fostering certain cultural or spiritual appreciations to project into their regions of influence, which are vast, a scale of values that has prevented over-emphasis on the material and has brought into sharper focus the spiritual values of life.

The second great movement of this general period has been, and is, the acceleration of the worldwide movement towards human freedom. More than a century and a half ago came the American Revolution, giving form to the United States of America. Back and forth across the world this cause has swept—France, Mexico, South America, China, Russia—all through the blood and stress of war. The resulting political states had then only set the frame-

work for the succeeding evolutions—social and economic—by which the more subtle rights of the common man have been and are being achieved.

It is in the third great movement of the century that Mary Baldwin surrenders her varying roles of calm indifference, discreet interest, mild disapproval or active participation—and all these attitudes have been in evidence at various times—as to these first two movements. Now our infant, grown into maturer womanhood, becomes not only an active participant in a movement growing worldwide in extent but comes to recognize herself, and to be recognized, as a leader in what has been termed possibly the greatest, most far-reaching movement of all—the emergence and the formal higher education of women.

A wise historian has said—and I am inclined to agree—that when the historian of a hundred or possibly a thousand years into the future comes to write of this period, Hitler *may* be given a paragraph, Emperor Hirohito a sentence, and Mussolini, by grace, a footnote; but that this movement toward the higher education of women will be accorded a large place in history's annals, that it will be weighed as one of the significant movements of all time. The thinking is this: The other movements of which we have spoken have changed men's occupations, their outlooks on life, their ways of self-expression. The third movement of which we speak—the higher education of women—strikes, through the institution of the family, at the very heart of life, and changes human nature,—for human nature can be changed. When the family life begins to be changed, when the mother gains the new understandings, the new concepts, the new approaches, the new techniques of rearing and training children and is permitted as in the democracies to exert the paramount influence in the education, the early indoctrination of the child, something has occurred that can, by changing the child, change the course of humanity and of civilization. I shall not argue this point at length, but shall leave this with you as a thesis and as a seed thought.

What has been said in this connection is that we celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of an institution that was among the first to give form and permanence to this one of the most significant forces and movements of all time. For it is in the United States

of America that formal higher education of women has found its form, gained its momentum and reached its highest glory.

II. Factors in This Century of Service

There have been many colleges for women born in these years. There have been many to die. May we then ask the question, Why has this institution lived and flourished for one hundred years?

First, there is the vision of the founders, with the somewhat accidental but none the less significant fusing and consequent intensification of two cultures—the New England Puritan and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian—with the natural stimulus and a secondary influence of the Church of England Episcopal group present also in Virginia. Thus was conceived a spiritual body which has always been the essence of the institution.

The second factor was the location of the school in Staunton, in the Valley, in Virginia. This gave a physical setting of intense natural beauty, a healthful climate and natural accessibility. Nearness to such other great institutions as the University of Virginia, Washington and Lee and the Virginia Military Institute gave also a salubrious educational climate, not to mention a provocative social setting.

The sturdy Scotch, English and other European stocks had developed in the fertile and hospitable valley a sturdy and conservative people who at once furnished generous patronage, and even to the present day a wise and conservative business control.

There have been, however, certain influences in the history of the college that are more subtle and intangible than those mentioned but which are none the less real and significant. The educational and social philosophies of the institution in different periods and under different leaders have shown a consistency and a continuity that particularly command attention. The continuing social philosophy of the school is particularly challenging in that it has always been highly democratic at heart even in the presence at times of an aristocratic environment and influence. These abiding philosophies throughout all of the first century, along with an insistence always upon the basic value of sound scholarship, have caused the college group to think in terms of the complete per-

sonality and have emphasized always the values of true democratic thought and living.

One other essential factor that appears to the student who is searching for the explanation of the long life of the college is found in the fact that, herself the daughter of the Christian Church, the institution has always had a clearly defined purpose; namely, the preparation of Christian young womanhood that it might find its opportunity for its highest expression in the Christian home.

One would wish to mention also all those faithful people under whose leadership this school has weathered the one hundred years, growing ever stronger as the century has passed. Truly history may be the shadow of great personages. We can study but four of these, but in studying these and their influence we can see all of the century.

Dr. Rufus W. Bailey first, the founder, a man whose influence was felt by his successors, among whom was Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, father of Woodrow Wilson and pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Staunton and for one session head of this school. In intellectual stature Dr. Bailey was the peer of any of those who have followed him. As is the lofty privilege of those who teach, he lived most gloriously in the life of one of his earliest pupils in the seminary, Miss Mary Julia Baldwin.

Miss Baldwin herself is the next great figure in the life of the institution. She became principal in 1863 during the dark days of the War Between the States. It is fitting that the greatest contribution of the century to the institution should come through a woman, herself a product of the seminary and a pupil of the founder. Miss Baldwin's chief educational counselor through the years was Dr. William H. McGuffey, of McGuffey Reader fame, who, then located at the University of Virginia, visited Staunton often and helped Miss Baldwin form the curriculum of the seminary to parallel that of the University, although, to be sure, he did find it necessary to caution Miss Baldwin lest she make her courses too difficult for the comprehension of the female mind. It is fitting that Miss Baldwin, a wise and noble woman, who through a service of thirty-four years brought the institution into its golden era, could leave with the institution her own great name.

The third personality of commanding importance was William

Wayt King, who was business manager of the institution for more than fifty years. Through the years of Miss Weimar and Miss Higgins, Dr. Fraser and even later, his was the hand and eye that guarded the interests of the seminary through the successive administrations.

The fourth of these people of great influence was Dr. A. M. Fraser, friend and pastor of Miss Baldwin, chairman of the Board of Trustees for many years and first President of Mary Baldwin College. Under Dr. Fraser's leadership the seminary became the college and came into a closer relationship to the Presbyterian Synod than it had been before. Dr. Fraser remained at the head of the college until 1929, when the speaker became president. During the later years, Mary Baldwin has expanded her facilities, her faculty, her program and her patronage. Today she has every possible accreditation and continues to follow a tradition, unbroken for more than fifty years, of operation without debt and without deficit.

III. Relationship to the Church

Mary Baldwin has always been not only influenced by, but almost identified with, the Presbyterian Church. Except for a brief period in the 1920's and '30's, when it was directly controlled by the Synod of Virginia, the loyalty has been more that of an intimate family relationship rather than of legal control. In the early 1920's, under the leadership of Dr. Fraser, the college came under the control of the Synod. The Synod, however, was not able to meet the financial obligation which this relationship involved and, consequently, in 1938 ordered enacted a new charter which preserved a vital relationship between the Synod and the college. In brief, the new relationship was and is as follows:

1. The Board of Trustees was to be appointed and constituted by Synod and to elect its own successors in office.
2. All members to be elected to the Board must be members of some evangelical Christian church.
3. Three-fourths of the members of the Board must be members of the Presbyterian Church.
4. Ten members of the Board must continually be approved by the Synod of Virginia and designated as Synodical Trustees.
5. All regular members of the faculty must be members of some evangelical Christian church.
6. The college shall report annually to the Synod.

On the basis of such a charter the Synod agreed to support the college through the budget of the churches and to assist in the promotion of the broader financial interests of the college.

It is not, however, according to her formal relationship to the church that Mary Baldwin would be judged, but rather by her contribution through her alumnæ to the church and society.

During this one hundred years Mary Baldwin has contributed through her thousands of alumnæ to the church, to the state and to the world at large. Her alumnæ—five thousand living today—are not as though they were according to one common mold. They doubtless have a unity in manners, in spirit and ideals, but a diversity of personality expression. The list would be long—missionaries, teachers, writers, lawyers, physicians, sheriffs, politicians (of the nobler type), farmers, business women, the WAACS, the WAVES—all these and other callings are represented; but above all would be the crowning service and glory of womanhood, the supreme contribution of motherhood and homemaking, which has projected the faith and ideals of their alma mater into the lives of many thousands unto the second and third and even the fourth generation.

But one word further should be said as to the direct contribution of the alumnæ to the Christian church. Each student generation of four years, on the average, has contributed one foreign missionary throughout the entire century. In a study made by the late Dr. A. M. Fraser it was ascertained that there were at one time five schools in our foreign mission fields that owed their existence to Mary Baldwin. Miss Charlotte Kemper went directly from Mary Baldwin to Brazil. Miss Janie McGaughey served an apprenticeship for her larger work as Secretary of Woman's Work of our Church, by a Professorship of Bible at Mary Baldwin. A recent study of more than 500 alumnæ showed that practically one hundred per cent were active church members and that more than fifty per cent were in positions of leadership in their respective churches, Sunday Schools, auxiliaries and other community activities. In these later years this contribution has been augmented by a large number who are finding their way into a new calling or profession,—that of church workers and pastors' assist-

ants. In recent years graduates have been employed by both the Northern and Southern branches of the Presbyterian Church in the preparation of Sunday School and other educational literature. And so Mary Baldwin would be judged by her five thousand alumnæ who are living and serving today and by the lives of that vast number that are no longer with us—whose influence lives after them and today reaches far over a troubled world.

IV. Observations and Conclusions

May we consider now certain conclusions which seem to arise from what has been said or suggested. Surely these one hundred years have some message for us today.

1. *Mary Baldwin has had a part in and has been a part of one of the greatest movements in world history.* If this discussion has brought into the focus of your attention the paramount importance of this movement, the emergence and higher education of women, the time has been worth while.

2. *One hundred years of unquestioned Christian testimony (arising from her intimate connection with the Presbyterian Church) places Mary Baldwin among the foremost of the world's Christian institutions of higher learning for women in quality and extent of Christian service.*

Without endeavoring at great length to establish the historical accuracy of this statement, I suggest that you attempt to name five colleges for women in all the world that are one hundred years old—or name ten—or name three. Having found your number, see how many of them have been altogether committed to the ideal, the purpose and program of the Christian church through all the century. Then find how many, if any, have extended their influence so broadly over the world as has Mary Baldwin.

An added thought here: Since the War Between the States, Mary Baldwin has extended her patronage and influence until it knows no bounds of state or region. This gives to her service a universal quality that can only be described as that of a *mission* enterprise. Thus to the person of discernment and vision Christian Education becomes one of the great missionary enterprises of the church. This fact is not universally recognized. There are some

still whose outlook is so narrow, whose vision is so limited, that they would criticize and even condemn our institutions—such as Mary Baldwin and Hampden-Sydney—for serving God and Christ beyond the confines of the Synod of Virginia, even though in obedience to the terms of the Great Commission of our Lord.

3. *The fact of a varying type or degree of Church control has not at any time changed or lessened the quality of the Christian testimony of Mary Baldwin.*

This is particularly important in that it illustrates the broader truth that many ministers, laymen, educators and others believe, namely, that among institutions of higher learning an intimate church *influence* may be better than a rigorous church *control.* The church courts, with their constantly changing personnel that is not homogeneous as to educational and social philosophy and outlook, are not at their best in endeavoring to govern and direct a college or university. In the light of the purpose of church courts and their constituent nature and organization, they would not be expected to have a consistent and continuous understanding and philosophy of higher education. Furthermore, there is in such a group every conceivable shade of interpretation and practice as to social forms and folkways, which has often caused each individual or each group holding to a given interpretation in these fields to endeavor to impose its interpretations upon the college. The institution may thus, on the one hand, be hindered in the maintenance of a consistently continuing philosophy of education and, on the other hand, be more or less at the mercy of an ever-present group who, though small in number, may be loud of voice and for that reason stronger in influence than they deserve to be. The minds of students themselves become confused as to what is the message of the church. Many of us have heard the student, when confronted by arbitrary deliverances of the church authority as to social observance, ask the question: "Is that the meaning of the Christian religion; is that the mission of the church?" It is altogether possible that the church may yet be able to solve this problem in higher education that surely has not yet been adequately and permanently solved, through wise charter provisions, through a consistent effort to foster an in-

terest and influence in the colleges, and through an adequate support, financial and otherwise.

4. *The future Christian quality of Mary Baldwin College—and of any other similar institution—will be determined (not influenced) by the nature and extent of the support by the Synod today and tomorrow.*

A study of the past century would be largely fruitless unless the lessons we learn are applied to the planning for the new century. The continued existence of Mary Baldwin as an educational institution, by all human standards of judgment, is reasonably well assured. In one hundred years roots strike deep. There seems to be a degree of permanence as to colleges and universities that applies to no other type of human institution and organization. Many of the universities of Europe and the Americas are older than their governments. Hampden-Sydney is older than the Declaration of Independence.

Historically, however, this element of permanence does not necessarily apply to the Christian spirit and testimony of an institution. This is a more subtle thing that needs continually to be re-born and to be nurtured ever through the years. History tells us that though the educational institutions survive, their loyalties may change. They do change according to the wishes and demands of their respective supporting groups. And this is right. The college exists not for itself but as the instrument and channel of expression for its supporting group in the education and guidance of youth. The loyalty of the institution has always gone and always will go with the group which supports it. Therefore, above all else we long for and plan for an adequate, voluntary and continuing support of Mary Baldwin by the Synod of Virginia. Thus we can rest content as to her future.

And one last word that reaches far beyond the interest of any one institution or any one group. It has to do with the church and the college in general. We often hear emphasized the need of the *college* for the support of the *church.* This is the wrong emphasis. The great need has been and still is the need of the *church* for the contribution of the *college.* A college that is worthy of the name can exist without the church. We cannot be sure

that a church of our tradition and emphasis can exist without its college.

The church needs the spirit of intellectual and spiritual adventure of the college and university which reaches into realms where the church itself has been none too happy in its excursions through the ages. The church needs the longer view of the college. The church needs of the college at once the projection of the Christian spirit into the intellectual and social thought of the day and the mediation by the college of the findings and achievements of the world's thinkers into the life and thought of the church itself. By the same token, in the attainment of these objectives the college needs the depth of faith of the church and the resulting loyalty to the broader and longer program of our Lord.

It is the wish of the speaker, above all things else, that through another century Mary Baldwin College may thus go forward hand in hand with the church of her birth and nurture, in the task of *Christian* higher education of women.

LITURGY IN THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

By the Rev. Allen Cabaniss, Ph. D.,
Pastor of the Columbia Presbyterian Church,
Columbia, Mississippi

The particular seed from which this paper may be said to have sprung was a sermon on "The Meaning of Worship," which I preached by appointment before the Presbytery of Mississippi at its Spring Meeting in 1941. I share with many ministers the feeling that great improvements in contemporary worship should be made, so that we may present ourselves more fittingly to God in the service of the sanctuary and receive with more solemnity the royal Word of our King. This is a need that can and should be met in our Church not by looking outside our own heritage and borrowing scraps here and there from Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism and the æsthetic vagaries of modern liberalism. We have a noble heritage which, if we would only return more intelli-

gently to it, would satisfy our liturgical desires. In the following sketch, however, I am not arguing the case for more or less liturgy but simply setting forth the historical facts upon which the case may be pleaded.

Some explanatory remarks are in order at the outset. In the first place, I shall use the term worship strictly, not generally or loosely. I do not mean by worship the feeling that one may have in the presence of a glorious sunset or an eclipse of the moon, nor do I mean by it to include all religious, and in themselves good, acts, such as the visiting of "the fatherless and widows in their affliction" or the giving of "a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple." In the second place, I shall use the term entirely in the sense of public, not private, worship. For the latter, the word devotion is a better description. In the third place, I shall distinguish worship from preaching, which is primarily instruction. Thus I separate myself from the religious educational view of the purpose of the solemn service of God's House. In the fourth place, I shall not try to be a liturgical Emily Post. The minister's posture, dress, and decorum in the pulpit are matters of ecclesiastical good manners rather than of liturgical consideration. In the fifth place, I shall not be concerned with worship as it should be æsthetically or psychologically but as it is historically and Scripturally.

Other terms that will probably be recurring should also be clarified before proceeding further. First, liturgy is the technically proper word for the public service of the church. Second, ritual is a word of which we should have no fear, since it refers simply to what is said in worship; for example, the words prescribed by the *Directory of Worship* for use at the Eucharist.[1] Third, ceremonial refers not to words but to acts, to what is done, as the fraction of the bread and the lifting of the cup and the imposition of hands at ordination. Fourth, formal is not the opposite of spiritual but of formless or informal. Informal worship may be as spiritual or unspiritual as formal worship may be.

There are four kinds of public worship. There is the prescribed or imposed liturgy, such as obtains in the Catholic communions,

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[1] *Directory for the Worship of God in the Presbyterian Church, U. S.* (revision of 1929), Ch. XII, Sect. 359.

Orthodox and Roman, and in such Protestant communions as the Anglican, Lutheran, Catholic Apostolic and Old Catholic.[2] There is the discretionary or optional liturgy, such as is used in the Reformed and Methodist Churches and the United Church of Canada. There is worship by rubrical provision, in which the words to be used are not generally given but only directions concerning the order of the various parts and minute suggestions as to the language and action. This is illustrated by certain rubrics of the Anglican prayer books and by the Westminster *Directory*. Lastly, there is worship which is entirely free of form and order, as in Baptist congregations, where one service may be totally dissimilar to any other service, depending upon the habits of the particular congregation or the whim of the individual pastor.[3] The Southern Presbyterian Church makes use of the second and third kinds.

Contrary to popular belief in this country, Presbyterianism is not historically anti-liturgical. Both John Calvin and John Knox prepared books of worship for the use of the Reformed Churches. Whether the story of the apple-woman, Jenny Geddes, is apocryphal or not, the point is frequently neglected in the telling of it.[4] When, on that memorable day, the seventh Sunday after Trinity, 1637, Jenny threw her three-legged stool at Dean Hanna's head, in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, she was not objecting to a read liturgy, for that very morning prayers had already been read from Knox's *Book of Common Order,* as had been customary for more than three-quarters of a century.[5] She was objecting to the high-handed means by which the ill-fated Stuart king, Charles I, and his equally ill-fated Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, both incipient tyrants, were trying to foist an English prayer book upon the Church of Scot-

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[2]The Old Catholics in the United States are proven to be Protestants by the statement they issued when they recently joined the fundamentalist American Council of Christian Churches.

[3]This logical classification of kinds of worship was suggested by the reading of (C. W. Baird) *Eutaxia, or The Presbyterian Liturgies* (New York: Dodd, 1855).

[4]J. W. C. Wand, *A History of the Modern Church* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929), 127.

[5]W. D. Maxwell, *An Outline of Christian Worship* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 155.

land without its consent. The revolt against this untimely attempt was more national than liturgical. It also had in it some of the elements of the age-old struggle between church and state.[6]

When the Presbyterian Church came to this country it encountered the unsettled conditions of the frontier, lack of education, dislike of anything savoring of prelacy, and the compelling influence of the revivalistic sects. Under the sway of these forces Presbyterians tended to turn away from their heritage of worship and increasingly assimilated themselves in outward appearances to the surrounding and militantly aggressive Methodists and Baptists and later the Disciples. However, some of the Canvinistic communions other than the Presbyterian succeeded in withstanding the trend and adhered to their standards of worship. The (Dutch) Reformed Church of America, for instance, continued its liturgy, issuing an edition of it as early as 1770.[7] The French Protestants also, Calvinistic to the core, retained their liturgical usages. An example of this is L'Eglise du Saint Esprit in New York, which is now affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Nearer home is the still continuing Huguenot Church of Charleston, South Carolina, which, though an independent congregation now, makes use of Southern Presbyterian ministers to supply its pulpit.[8] The service book of this church was naturally in the French language for many years before being translated into English. It was based on the 1737 and 1772 editions of the liturgy of the churches of Neuchâtel and Vallangin, in French-speaking Switzerland. The edition now in use is the second one, dated 1853. This admirable book acknowledges its dependence upon Scripture, the practice of the Primitive Church, and the worship of the post-Reformation

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[6]Cf. the significance of the Old-Believers' Schism (1666) in Russia. This group broke away from the Orthodox Church for several reasons, one of them being the attempt of the Patriarch Nikon to substitute the Greek custom of crossing with three fingers for the old native habit of crossing with two fingers. The objection to this apparently trifling change was in reality an expression of the deep-seated Russian distrust of foreign influence. On the other hand, in Nikon's mind, it involved the assertion of the church's freedom from "Caesaropapism" and its co-equality with the state. This matter is concisely discussed by Matthew Spinka, "Patriarch Nikon and the Subjection of the Russian Church to the State," *Church History,* X, No. 4 (December 1941), 347-366.

[7]Maxwell, *op. cit.,* 192.

[8]See article in *The Presbyterian Survey,* April, 1935.

churches, especially that of Geneva.[9] It provides Sunday morning and afternoon services, week day services with and without sermons, a lectionary and the celebration of the Holy Communion at four periods of the year, Easter, Pentecost, Autumn and Christmas, three times at each period. These provisions were, of course, never carried out fully in Charleston.[10]

It is altogether conceivable that the conservatism of these Dutch and French Reformed bodies in the matter of worship was instrumental in keeping the Calvinistic ideal of liturgy before the American Presbyterian Church. This Church, however, was not left entirely without liturgical guidance of its own. It had the modified Westminster *Directory,* which had been adopted in 1788, just before the organization of the General Assembly. For many years this was the only standard of worship which obtained in this Church. It, alas, was observed more in the breach than in the performance, but it did help to keep alive the ideal.

Then about the middle of the nineteenth century there came a new springtime of liturgical interest in the American Presbyterian Church. This may have been remotely due to the Anglo-Catholic revival in England and the similar movement in Scotland, sometimes called Scoto-Catholicism, which was more or less initiated by the practice and writings of Rev. Robert Lee, D. D., the minister of Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh.[11] The extent of the influence of these British developments upon American Presbyterianism can probably not now be determined, but the fact is indisputable, if one may reason by analogy from the effects of those movements upon polity.[12]

In the year 1855 there was published in New York a volume entitled *Eutaxia, or The Presbyterian Liturgies.* It was issued

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[9]See the preface of *The Liturgy, or Forms of Divine Service of the French Protestant Church of Charleston, S. C.,* second edition (Charleston: Walker and James, 1853).

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]Especially Robert Lee, *The Reform of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1864).

[12]This influence can be seen in the fact that a synod so distant from the currents of thought and action along the Atlantic seaboard as Mississippi officially designated its ministers as *bishops* for a period of years, approximately 1835-1845, as though to answer the pretensions of the English Tractarians.

anonymously, the author signing himself simply "a Presbyterian minister." It is now well known that the learned Charles W. Baird had written it. Why he resorted to anonymity is not clear, unless perhaps he feared the accusation of "popery" which was almost sure to be raised. The London edition of the book the following year bore the title *Eutaxia, or A Chapter on Liturgies.* The choice of the word *eutaxia* ("good order") to describe the Presbyterian liturgies was a peculiarly happy one. It was undoubtedly suggested by that verse of Scripture which above all others may be called the motto of the Presbyterian mind and spirit, "Let all things be done decently and in order."[13] This scholarly work carried a full description of Calvin's Strasburg and Genevan services for Sunday morning, the Eucharist, and daily offices, as well as the citation of famous instances of their use. It also gave full particulars of Knox's liturgy for the Scottish Church, the Palatinate order, and Richard Baxter's *Reformation of the Liturgy* ("the Savoy Liturgy") presented to the Savoy Conference of 1661, all of them thoroughly Calvinistic. *Eutaxia* was both the articulation of the American movement for the improvement of worship and also a factor contributing to its growth.

Liturgical interest received a set-back during the War Between the States, the Reconstruction period and the division of the Presbyterian Church North and South, although in 1864 Rev. C. W. Shields edited a volume entitled *The Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer,* a version of the Episcopal prayer book. This curious work has not had the circulation that it deserved. Shields had taken the English *Book of Common Prayer* of 1559 and "corrected" it in accordance with the original Westminster *Directory,* the exceptions against the prayer book taken by the Presbyterian ministers at the Savoy Conference, and the proposed prayer book of 1689. The essay accompanying the text was reissued separately in 1883 as a booklet entitled *Liturgia Expurgata.*

As the wounds of war began to heal, the interest returned, and in 1882 Rev. Archibald Alexander Hoge, D. D., of Princeton Seminary, issued *A Manual of Forms,* a private compilation designed for optional use in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

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[13] I Cor. 14:40.

The feeling of need for such aids to worship continued to increase, until the 1903 General Assembly of this Church appointed a committee of ministers and elders, with Dr. Henry van Dyke as chairman, and including such an outstanding liturgiologist as Dr. Louis F. Benson, to prepare an official service book for voluntary use. After several years of study and compilation and the guidance of two succeeding Assemblies the *Book of Common Worship* was issued, copyrighted in 1905 and following by the Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work. It was understood that this book should not be considered as imposed by authority nor as a substitute for the *Directory for Worship,* but rather as a discretionary supplement to it. In the preface due credit is given to Scripture, the devotional treasures of early Christianity and the usage of the Reformed Churches as well as to more modern forms and mobels. In addition to orders for regular and special services it included a noble section called "The Treasury of Prayers," the Psalter, and ancient hymns and canticles. This volume proved popular enough not only in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., but also in the Southern Church, an increasing number of whose ministers made use of it for weddings, funerals and other special occasions.

The U. S. A. General Assembly of 1928 considered the advisability of revising the *Book of Common Worship* and appointed a distinguished committee to carry through the project. Dr. van Dyke was again the chairman. In 1931 the revision, which had been prepared with the invaluable assistance of thirty ministers in the active pastorate advising the committee, was issued with the full approval of the Assembly. It was in no sense a new book but the older one made more useful, beautiful and socially spirited. Greater freedom was afforded in the choice of alternate forms; a lectionary was added; and, for the liturgical student, its value was enhanced a hundredfold by the insertion of an appendix containing a list of sources. This is the book which has been approved by the Southern Assembly and will be discussed in greater detail below.

When the Presbyterian Church, U. S., separated from the parent body in 1861, it carried over and adopted the Westminster

Standards, including the *Directory for Worship,* which thus continued to provide a norm of liturgical usage. Opportunity for any development in a liturgical way was practically denied to the South for fifteen or twenty years because of the scourge of misrule, strife and unrest following the war. But had there been opportunity it would probably have come to nought, because there was a dearth of interest. The Southern Church remained strong in its Calvinistic faith and Presbyterial polity but grew slack in the administration of Reformed discipline and so negligent in regard to its heritage of worship that it became almost indistinguishable from the surrounding sects. In this laxity it was but following the general informality of old Southern life.

Soon, however, the tide began to come in. The need for some definite forms could not long remain unfelt. In 1893 the General Assembly approved three optional services, a marriage order, and two funeral services, one for an adult, the other for a child, and directed that they be published as an appendix to the *Book of Church Order.* The liturgical prayers in these forms are exceptionally good and demonstrate a sensitiveness to the true spirit of worship. One of them was taken from Knox's liturgy, showing that the Church's early heritage was not entirely forgotten or abandoned. As mentioned above, in the first quarter of the twentieth century the *Book of Common Worship* of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., was used fairly extensively in the Southern Church.

During these years worship came more and more to the conscious consideration of all American Protestantism. Courses dealing with the form and matter of Christian liturgical usage were introduced into nearly all the Protestant seminaries, including those of the Southern Presbyterian Church. This flood of interest eventually resulted in the thorough-going revision of the *Directory for Worship* of the Southern Church in the early nineteen-twenties. The revised book was enacted into law by the General Assembly of 1929 and is now the only obligatory liturgical standard that the Southern Church possesses. The committee of revisers also recommended to that Assembly that it authorize an imprint edition of the *Book of Common Worship* of the U. S. A. Church (then in process of revision), "with such alterations as may

seem advisable, for the optional and selective use of our ministers." In 1932 the General Assembly adopted the recommendation of this committee and caused to be issued the imprint edition of the *Book of Common Worship* just as it stood after revision, making only such changes as were necessary, such as having the name of the Southern Church substituted for every reference to the U. S. A. Church. This book now exists as a supplement to the *Directory* and may be used at the discretion of the minister. Thus the Southern Church has officially returned to its heritage.

Before discussing these two liturgical standards in the Church, attention should be directed to some books which have an unofficial but inherent value for the Southern Presbyterian Church. They are Calvin's *La Forme des Prières* (Geneva, 1542), the *Second Prayerbook of Edward VI* (1552), and Knox's *Form of Prayers* (1564), generally called the *Book of Common Order*. *La Forme des Prières* is important chiefly to demonstrate that Presbyterianism was definitely liturgical in its formative years and because this book was the main source of Knox's service. Many of the prayers in the present *Book of Common Worship* (revised) are taken from *La Forme*. Especially noteworthy are the general confession and the very beautiful general prayers for morning and evening. The historic liturgies of the French, Dutch and German Reformed Churches are lineal descendants of Calvin's rite, and even the service of the Church of England is indebted to it.

The first English *Book of Common Prayer* was issued in 1549, but was not Protestant enough to suit many of the churchmen, hence another one was prepared and published by royal authority three years later. It is known as the *Second Prayerbook of Edward VI*. This book shows the influence of several non-English Reformed leaders, including Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and John Knox, who was then a minister in the Church of England, being a royal chaplain and having just declined to accept the bishopric of Rochester. Knox at this time held a "good opinion" of the book, though desiring still further revision. John Rough, one of Knox's Reforming associates, considered that it agreed "in all points with the Word of God." It also passed muster with Calvin, who was made familiar with it a few years later in a Latin version. He suggested some changes and pointed out that it con-

tained a few *tolerabiles ineptias,* by which he meant endurable mistakes of grammar, not, as the phrase is so often misleadingly translated, endurable follies. This *Second Prayerbook* was never used in England because Edward soon died and Mary on her accession restored the Roman rite. But, strange to say, it was used extensively in Scotland. In 1557, three years before Scotland officially became Protestant, the "Lords of the Congregation" passed as the first resolution of their covenant a provision ordaining that this book be used in all the parishes of the realm. It is worthy of note that this was the action of laymen, nobles and barons of the Reforming party, not a decision of the clergy. It continued in use for a while even after having been replaced in 1564 by the adoption of the *Book of Common Order.* A great number of the prayers of the *Book of Common Worship* (revised) are taken from the *Second Prayerbook.* It is a safe assertion that the majority of Southern Presbyterian ministers today who desire to improve worship in their parishes generally turn to a *Book of Common Prayer* for assistance, because they are more familiar with it than with their own *Book of Common Worship* (revised). For instance, the use of the Lord's Prayer after the invocation instead of at the end of the pastoral prayer and the use of the responsive Psalter are more Episcopalian than Presbyterian.

Except for a few years when the attempt was made to impose "Laud's Liturgy," the *Book of Common Order* was the official rite of the Scottish Church from the time of its adoption in 1564 until 1645, when it was superseded by the Westminster *Directory for Worship,* though even the latter was approved cautiously as not being prejudicial to the older order of the Kirk. It was never prohibited.[14] It was stronger on the doctrinal side than on the devotional, and it has been pointed out that its special orders, such as baptism and Eucharist, are superior to its ordinary services.[15] Fully a third of the prayers of the *Book of Common Worship* (revised) are from some edition of this book. One of the prayers in the optional forms for funerals, printed as an appendix to the *Book of Church Order* in 1893, is footnoted thus, "from John Knox's Liturgy."

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[14]Maxwell, *op. cit.,* 131; Lee *op. cit.,* 163.
[15]Lee, *op. cit.,* 167.

Back of all service books, official and unofficial for the Southern Church, lies the general practice of the Church in all ages, bearing its intrinsic weight, especially the fluid liturgies of the first three centuries, considered by Calvin as his norm. As the preface of the liturgy of the Huguenot Church of Charleston says:

> "In matters of worship, the practice of the first ages of the Church is entitled to great consideration; and it must be confessed that in the prayers of Primitive Christian, their spirituality and simplicity are very remarkable. Besides, who can doubt that whatever was done in those days, and had been established by the successors of the Apostles, did conform to the spirit of the Gospel, and ought to command the respect of all Christians."

Still farther back lies the fountain-head of all Christian worship, the New Testament Church, which combined with the synagogue type of worship its own distinctive addition, the Eucharist. Miss Evelyn Underhill has shown that early worship (of which we may catch glimpses in the Epistle to the Hebrews and such passages in Revelation as 4:2-11; 5:6-14, and 7:9-17), far from being simple and plain, was developed within the rich matrix of an adoring congregation acclaiming with almost ineffable joy the awe-inspiring magnificence of a "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," who was also the conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah.[16]

It now remains only to discuss the structure of the *Directory for Worship* and the *Book of Common Worship* (revised) and their authority in the Southern Presbyterian Church.

The *Directory* is obligatory. The third ordination vow which all ministers, elders and deacons take is that approving "the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States," a reference to their acceptance of the *Book of Church Order,* which includes the *Form of Government,* the *Rules of Discipline* and the *Directory for the Worship of God.* Six of the twenty-seven chapters of the *Directory* (Chapters III-VII, XII) are devoted to a description of the normal Sunday morning service and the Holy Communion. No fixed forms are set forth and the suggestions allow for considerable flexibility, leaving the minister as the final judge of the precise wording and order. The lan-

[16]Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (New York: Harpers, 1937).

guage, however, is sufficiently detailed to give a plan of the content and an outline of an adequate order of worship. The following is a scheme of the rite in this book:

THE ORDINARY SUNDAY MORNING LITURGY

Doxology.
Invocation.
The Lord's Prayer.
Psalms (metrical) and hymns—at such places during the service as the minister may judge expedient.
Scripture lection—portion and length left to the minister's discretion.
Offering and prayer of dedication—at some time in the service.
Comprehensive prayer, before the sermon, embracing some or all of the following elements:

Adoration; thanksgiving; confession of sin; supplication for pardon and peace with God through the atonement, with all the happy fruits thereof; pleading; intercession; petition for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on all flesh, for all classes and conditions of men, for private citizens and public officials, and for whatever else may seem to be necessary or suitable to the occasion.

Sermon.
Prayer—relating to the subject treated in the discourse.
Psalm (metrical) or hymn.
Blessing.

THE LITURGY OF HOLY COMMUNION

Words of Institutions, read as the warrant for the service—from I Corinthians 11 or one of the Gospels.
Exhortation:

Showing that this is Christ's command; a memorial of His death and pledge of His return; a benefit strengthening His people against sin, supporting them in troubles, encouraging them in duty, inspiring in them love and zeal, increasing their faith and resolution, begetting peace of conscience and hope of eternal life.

Invitation.
Consecration of the elements by prayer and thanksgiving.
Fraction.
The communion (minister communicating first and serving the elders after they have served the people):

At the distribution of the bread: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the same night in which He was betrayed, having taken bread, and blessed and broken it, gave it to His disciples; as I, ministering in His name, give this bread to you; saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me.'"

At the distribution of the cup: "After the same manner our Saviour also took the cup, and having given thanks, as hath been done in His name, He gave it to the disciples saying, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins; drink ye all of it.'"

Prayer of thanksgiving.
Psalm (metrical) or hymn.
A Gospel benediction.

In 1658, the saintly Jeremy Taylor recorded thirty-one criticisms of the original Westminster *Directory* in the preface of his *Collection of Offices,* some of which are true of the revision as it exists today. For example, it takes no more care of the systematic reading of the Scripture in course than chance does and it does not suggest the recitation of a creed or profession of faith, although the Apostles' Creed is always printed with the Shorter Catechism and provided the framework of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* a basic formulation of the Reformed faith.[17] It does not allow for so Scriptural a practice as the people's Amen in response to the prayers. The congregation throughout is considered as an audience, not as worshippers joining with the minister in solemn devotions to God: the people *may,* not *shall,* unite in the Lord's Prayer, and the singing of the metrical psalms and hymns is only encouraged, not enjoined. By saying that "hymns should have the note of praise, or be in accord with the spirit of the sermon," it ignores the deeply spiritual hymns of penitence and aspiration, such as, "Rock of Ages," "Just as I Am" and "Nearer, My God, to Thee." By suggesting the Lord's Prayer at the end of the invocation, not at the end of the "long prayer," it veers away from the Calvinistic tradition toward Anglican worship; and by ordering the pastoral prayer before the sermon, it leans away from its norm toward extreme Dissent.[18]

The Eucharistic service, appended after the sermon to the ordinary service or one foreshortened for the occasion, is liturgically excellent and should be followed scrupulously in every parish of the Church. The words prescribed for use at the delivery of the bread and cup cannot be surpassed for moving beauty and depth of meaning. The Lord's Prayer, however, should be added at the end of the prayer of consecration.

The *Book of Common Worship* (revised) is in no sense obligatory in the Southern Church but is only for "the optional and selective use" of the ministers. They may use the book in its

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[17]Lee, *op. cit.,* 158, quoting Taylor's criticisms.

[18]The original Westminster *Directory* compromised between the Reformed custom of having this prayer after the sermon and the English Independent practice of having it precede the sermon, by leaving its place in the service to the discretion of the minister. Our *Directory* adopts the usage to which the Scottish Church objected.

entirety or not at all, or they may use it as a source from which to derive materials and orders for their services. Here is an outline of its Sunday morning service and the Eucharistic office:

THE ORDINARY SUNDAY MORNING LITURGY

Hymn or Doxology.
Call to prayer.
Adoring invocation introduced by a short versicle and response.
General confession (two forms) introduced by a short versicle and response.
Assurance of pardon.
Responsive reading introduced by two short versicles and responses and closing with the Gloria Patri; or a Canticle or Hymn of Praise, if any church so desires.
Scripture lection, preferably from both Testaments (use may be made of the lectionary in the appendix).
Hymn or anthem or the Apostles' Creed introduced by a short versicle and response.[19]
General prayer, free or from the book, embracing:
Adoration; thanksgiving; supplications; intercessions for our brother-men, country, president, governors, the Church, and the coming of the Kingdom of God.
The Lord's Prayer.
Offering and prayer of dedication.
Hymn of praise or Doxology.
Sermon.
Closing prayer.
Hymn.
Grace, or Peace and Blessing.

THE LITURGY OF HOLY COMMUNION

Invitation.
Exhortation:
Showing this to be an institution of Christ; a memorial of His atoning death and pledge of His Love; a bond of our union with Him and each other; a seal of His promises and renewal of our obedience; an assurance of His presence with us; a pledge of His return; and an incentive to prayer, ending with an adaptation of Ephesians 3:14-21.
Hymn.
Words of institution from I Corinthians 11.
Prayer (based on the collect for purity and the prayer of the veil).
Prayer of consecration:
Salutation and *Sursum Corda.*
Preface (invariable).
Sanctus (said or sung).
Benedictus qui venit (said or sung).
Anamnesis.
Oblation.
Epiclesis (of the Logos and the Spirit).
Intercession.

[19]This versicle and response recall the almost universal practice of the Reformed churches of introducing the creed with a short prayer, very much as we do the Lord's Prayer.

Fraction.
Delivery of the bread (minister communicating first and serving the elders after they have served the people):
At the giving of the bread: the words as in the *Directory,* slightly modified.
Delivery of the cup (minister communicating first and serving the elders after they have served the people):
At the giving of the cup: the words as in the *Directory,* slightly modified.
Post-communion:
Thanksgiving and prayer for grace.
Brief intercession.
Commemoration of the departed.
Hymn.
Blessing, Hebrews 13:20, 21.

The preference of the *Book of Common Worship* (revised) for the responsive reading is to be deplored as more in the tradition of the *Book of Common Prayer* than of Reformed practice. If the book is to be used, the alternative of a Canticle or Hymn of Praise should be employed, as should the creed where it is permitted. The Communion office, which simply gives flesh to the skeleton outline in the *Directory* and, as in the *Directory,* is appended after the sermon to the ordinary service or one foreshortened for the occasion, has only two flaws: the omission of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the prayer of consecration and the completion of the administration of the bread before delivering the cup. In actual practice these can easily be remedied. The minister should communicate first in both kinds, then distribute the bread to the congregation by the elders, then the cup, then both elements to the elders after the communion of the congregation.

This study may be profitably concluded by giving a diagram showing the "genealogy" of the Southern Church's *Directory* and *Book of Common Worship* (revised):[20]

TABLE OF THE DESCENT OF OUR LITURGY

New Testament worship: a fusion of the liturgy of the Eucharist and the service of the synagogue, which consisted mainly of daily prayers, Scripture lections, and psalmody.

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Sub-Apostolic worship: known from indications in Clemens Romanus'

[20]This diagram is derived from a study of Dr. Maxwell's book already cited and his *John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1931), as well as from my own independent research. Dr. Maxwell's books should not be neglected by liturgical students, especially those interested in the Reformed rites.

first epistle to the Corinthians (A. D. 96); Pliny's fortieth letter to the Emperor Trajan (A. D. 112); and the *Didaché* (*ca.* 130-140).

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Second century worship: broad outline given in Justin Martyr's first *Apology* (*ca.* 140).

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Third and fourth century worship: extensive sources by now, especially the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus (died *ca.* 220), Tertullian (died *ca.* 240), Origen (died 251); Ethiopic translation of a Church Order compiled by Hippolytus of Rome in second quarter of third century; a book of prayers belonging to Bishop Sarapion of Thmuis in Egypt (*ca.* 340); the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem delivered there in 347.

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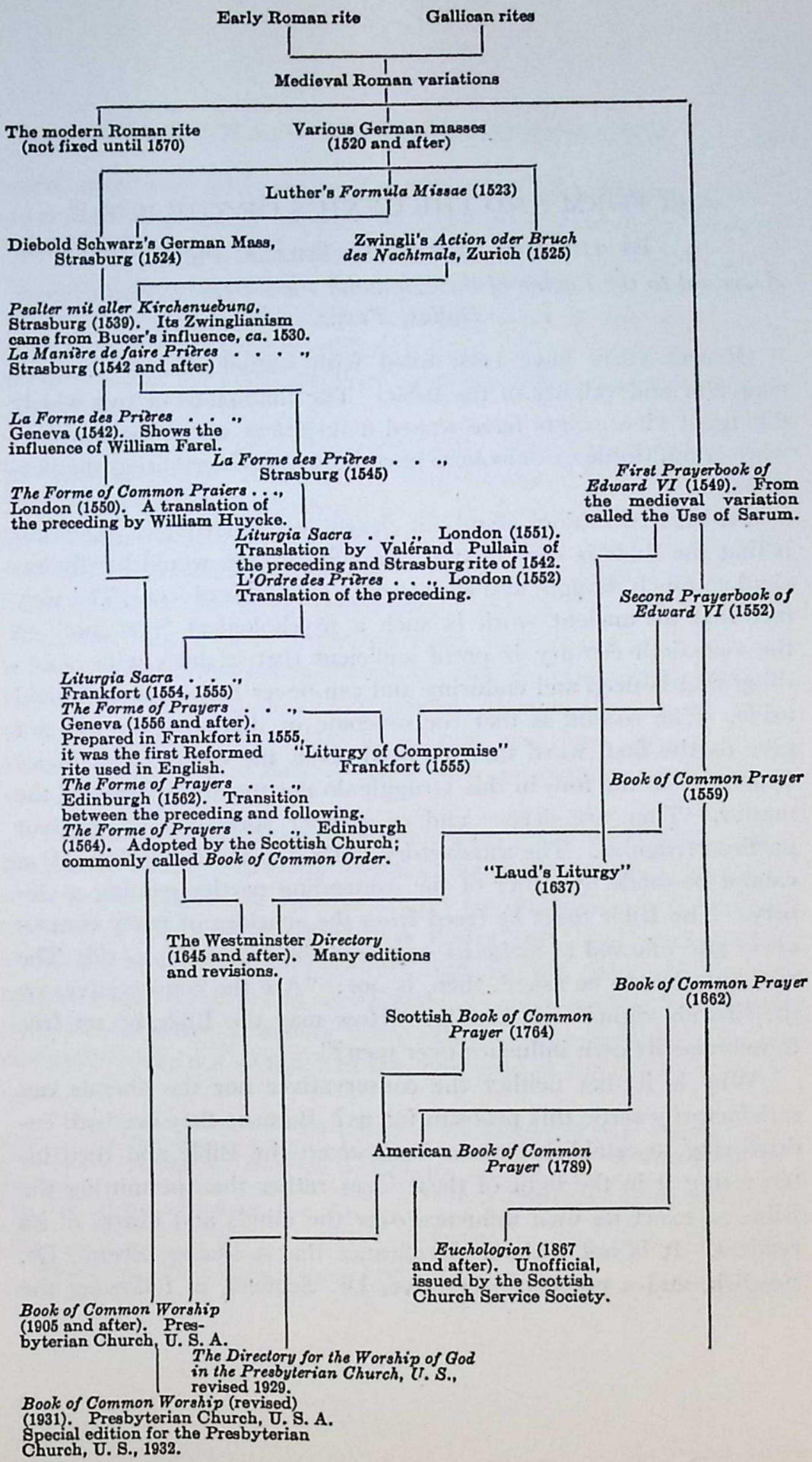
The patriarchal liturgies of the fifth and sixth centuries:

I. The Eastern patriarchal liturgies
   A. Antiochene rites
      1. The *Apostolic Constitutions,* Books II and VIII.
      2. The Byzantine rites (Constantinople)
         a. Liturgy of St. Basil
         b. Liturgy of St. Chrysostom
      3. The Jerusalem rites
         a. Liturgy of St. James
         b. All other Syrian rites
         c. The Persian rites (Nestorian)
   B. Alexandrine rites
      1. Sarapion
      2. Liturgy of St. Mark (Coptic form called Liturgy of St. Cyril; early supplanted by Coptic version of St. Basil's rite; the other Coptic rite is that of St. Gregory, similar to the Antiochene).
      3. All other Egyptian and Ethiopic rites. (Ethiopic liturgies being derived from St. Basil's).

II. The Western (i. e., Roman) patriarchal liturgies.
   A. The early Roman rite
   B. The Gallican rites (all the non-Roman Western liturgies).
   C. The Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican rites.

(From this point onward, the great liturgies of the East became largely fixed and, from the final separation between the East and the West in 1054, exerted no significant influence on Western rites until quite modern times. Our attention must now be directed to part of the development of the Western liturgies. In the following part of the table the straight and right-angled lines show lineal descent; the convergence of lines indicates the result of fusion or compromise; and the broken lines denote influence. Due to lack of space, some less important influences are omitted. For instance, by a study of the list of sources in the appendix of the *Book of Common Worship* (revised), we find that our liturgy is indebted to the liturgies of Sts. Chrysostom, James, and Cyril (Coptic); W. E. Orchard's *Divine Service* (1919 and after); the *Book of Common Order* (1928) of the United Free Church of Scotland; the American *Book of Common Prayer* (revision of 1929); as well as many books of private devotion. It has in turn been used extensively in the preparation of the most significant of the modern service books, the *Book of Common Order* (1932) of the United Church of Canada.


Early Roman rite
Gallican rites
Medieval Roman variations
The modern Roman rite (not fixed until 1570)
Various German masses (1520 and after)
Luther's *Formula Missae* (1523)
Diebold Schwarz's German Mass, Strasburg (1524)
Zwingli's *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals*, Zurich (1525)
Psalter mit aller Kirchenuebung, Strasburg (1539). Its Zwinglianism came from Bucer's influence, *ca.* 1530.
La Manière de faire Prières . . . ., Strasburg (1542 and after)
La Forme des Prières . . ., Geneva (1542). Shows the influence of William Farel.
La Forme des Prières . . ., Strasburg (1545)
First Prayerbook of Edward VI (1549). From the medieval variation called the Use of Sarum.
The Forme of Common Praiers . . ., London (1550). A translation of the preceding by William Huycke.
Liturgia Sacra . . ., London (1551). Translation by Valérand Pullain of the preceding and Strasburg rite of 1542.
L'Ordre des Prières . . ., London (1552) Translation of the preceding.
Second Prayerbook of Edward VI (1552)
Liturgia Sacra . . ., Frankfort (1554, 1555)
The Forme of Prayers . . ., Geneva (1556 and after). Prepared in Frankfort in 1555, it was the first Reformed rite used in English.
"Liturgy of Compromise" Frankfort (1555)
Book of Common Prayer (1559)
The Forme of Prayers . . ., Edinburgh (1562). Transition between the preceding and following.
The Forme of Prayers . . ., Edinburgh (1564). Adopted by the Scottish Church; commonly called *Book of Common Order*.
"Laud's Liturgy" (1637)
The Westminster *Directory* (1645 and after). Many editions and revisions.
Book of Common Prayer (1662)
Scottish *Book of Common Prayer* (1764)
American *Book of Common Prayer* (1789)
Euchologion (1867 and after). Unofficial, issued by the Scottish Church Service Society.
Book of Common Worship (1905 and after). Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
The Directory for the Worship of God in the Presbyterian Church, U. S., revised 1929.
Book of Common Worship (revised) (1931). Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Special edition for the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1932.

ART FORM AND THE GENIUS OF THE BIBLE

By the Rev. Donald G. Miller, Ph. D.,
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Recent years have been filled with heated clashes over the character and validity of the Bible. The champions of two widely divergent view-points have waged a relentless war on each other, while a multitude of onlookers have been eagerly awaiting the outcome.

At least two things stand out clearly in this struggle. The first is that the Bible is here to stay. Intelligent men would hardly expend so much thought and energy on a worthless object. The very fact that an ancient work is such a psychological "hot spot" in the twentieth century is proof sufficient that it deals with something that is deep and enduring and can never be permanently laid aside. The second is that the outcome of this struggle will not give us the final word that we need about the Bible. The issues which are to the fore in this struggle do not touch the heart of the matter. They are deeper and of another sort than the present parties recognize. The satisfactory settling of the Biblical question cannot be made by either of the contending parties gaining a victory. The Bible must be freed from the shackles of party controversy and allowed to make its own contribution to the world. The real question to be asked, then, is not: "Are the conservatives or the liberals right?" It is this: "How may the Bible be set free to exercise its own influence over men?"

Why is it that neither the conservatives nor the liberals can satisfactorily settle this problem for us? Because they are both endeavoring to establish certain ideas *about* the Bible and then interpreting it in the light of these ideas rather than permitting the Bible to exert its own influence over the minds and hearts of its readers. It is not without significance that a leading liberal, Dr. Fosdick, and a noted conservative, Dr. Scofield, in following the

same method of interpreting the Bible—the allegorical method—each arrived at almost directly opposite theological poles through the imposition of his own subjective view. It was more than humor when someone said that Dr. Fosdick in his *Modern Use of the Bible* and Dr. Scofield in his Reference Bible were in the same boat, only they were rowing at different ends. They both begin with a theory about the Bible and then see in the Bible what their theory allows.

But to approach any great work of art from the standpoint of a preconceived theory is one of the surest ways of losing its value.[1] Artistic composition, whether it be in the form of painting, music, architecture, sculpture or literature, is designed to produce an effect on those for whom it is intended. "The elemental situation in any work of art is one of communication," says a fine arts teacher.[2] The proper approach to any work of art, then, is not to come to it to see whether it fits into a theory, or even to form a theory about it, but through utilizing all our powers of receptivity to allow it to make its impression upon us. Then, and then only, are we giving it a fair opportunity to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended.

How, then, shall the Bible be released to do its appointed work? Simply by making ourselves aware of the fact that what is said—content—is matched in importance, for understanding a writer, by the way or the way in which it is said—form; that the way an author's materials are *proportioned* and the way they are *related* to each other are of prime significance in understanding his meaning. Masterpieces of artistic composition in any field differ from mediocre works not so much in the difference of the materials used

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[1]"People who bring their own ideas of the subject to their reading of a book, so that they may judge the author's ideas by their own, commonly fail to give to the author an attention sufficiently undivided to grasp with any delicacy of appreciation what he really says; they then either praise or blame him for saying something else. Our first business is to find out what he really says."—Archbishop Temple, Introduction to *The Bible Treasury*, edited by Squire and Baker.

[2]Syllabus: Fine Arts Course 1bS, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Summer School, 1939.

as in the form in which they are cast. The difference between a hod-carrier and an architect is that one piles stones one upon another in a shapeless heap while the other forms the very same stones into something which makes a cathedral. The difference between the daubing of an eight-year-old and the work of a master artist does not lie in the difference of materials used. They both may use brush, pigment and canvas. But the one makes incoherent streaks while the other forms his materials into a Transfiguration scene or a Last Supper. The difference between a great musical composition and a worthless ditty, or a great poem and doggerel verse, is not so much a difference in the notes or ideas used but in the arrangement of notes and words in an artistic fashion so that they produce a wholly different effect on the listener. The greatness of any artistry depends more on the *principle of arrangement* than on the materials used. In support of this Ruskin says, "It is the essence of composition that everything should be in a determined place, perform an intended part, and act, in that part, advantageously for everything that is connected with it." A more recent student of art has put it in this way: "A great picture is not a mere assemblage of objects; it is an ordered assemblage. The artist has in his mind one, or at most two, dominant ideas . . . All else is subordinated to these, all others point to these, *take their value from their relation to these.* When you have discovered the *composition* of any picture, you have not only found a source of æsthetic pleasure but a key to the meaning of the picture as well."[3] The Bible can be interpreted properly, then, as we give close attention not only to what is there but to the way the materials are proportioned and related to each other.

Let us look for a moment at a great work of art in order to see how this principle of interpretation functions. In his "Christ and the Rich Young Man" Hofmann has given us one of the great paintings of all time. It is a simple painting, consisting of but four characters against a very plain background. But not a single one of these four characters can express a whit of Hofmann's mean-

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[3]Bailey, Albert Edward, *The Gospel in Art,* p. 8. The Pilgrim Press, Publishers, Boston. (Italics mine.)

ing unless that character is viewed in relation to the whole painting. Segregate the figure of Jesus from the rest of the picture, and what does it mean? The message of the artist is expressed through the eyes of Jesus and His hands. But He is looking at some one and He is pointing toward some one. And if the rest of the painting were not there, we could not catch the artist's message. Or take the figure of the Rich Young Man alone, and what have we? Unless we see him in relation to the whole painting he might be reproving an inferior in disdain, or scorning an exorbitant price which a merchant has put on some article of sale, for aught we should know. And what of the wretched victims of poverty which Hofmann has inserted in one obscure corner? Of what value are they if taken alone? And yet without them the picture loses its entire message. They, when seen in their relationship to the entire painting, unlock the meaning of the look in Jesus' eyes and interpret the Rich Young Man for us. Christ is the link who stands pleadingly between the plenty of the rich and the need of the poor, trying to bring the one to the rescue of the other. And the need of the cripple discloses the issue which the Rich Young Man is deciding. Does not this great painting establish beyond question that the secret of the meaning in any type of composition lies not merely in its *content* but also in the *form* in which that content is cast?

But this principle is frequently not recognized in the study of the several books of the Bible. The conservative is guilty at times of taking one part of the picture, such as the figure of Christ or of the Rich Young Man, and interpreting it entirely out of relation to the other materials with which it is found. This obviously means that something is lacking in the interpretation. And when sometimes an ugly scene, such as the wretches in the painting, is taken alone and interpreted apart from its relationships, the result is disastrous. The critic, on the other hand, comes to the picture to judge it and thence to improve on it. He may look at the wretches in the corner, with all their ugliness, and, forgetting their relationship to the whole painting, cut them out altogether. He may not like the expression on the face of Christ, or the position in which the Young Man is standing, so he proceeds

to rearrange and retouch the picture until it looks better to him than before. No one can deny him the right to do this, but we must reserve the privilege of reminding ourselves that the picture, when the critic gets through with it, is not Hofmann's but his revision of Hofmann. And then we must decide which of the two has the most artistic power—the original or the revision.

A specific instance may serve to illustrate more clearly how both the critic and the traditionalist often fail to interpret a passage in terms of its own form and hence miss the point intended by the literary artist who produced it. In Genesis 18:16 to 19:38 there is recorded the destruction of Sodom, in connection with which Abram made a great prayer. Now this prayer, considered in itself merely as content, may mean one thing, while, if it is considered in its relationship to the other materials of the entire passage in which it is found, it may mean something entirely different. Let us see what both the critic and the traditionalist do with this passage and then let us try to let the passage speak for itself and convey its own message in terms of the form in which it is cast.

First, what does the critic do with this passage? Failing to view it as an integral part of a larger story, he rules it out as an interpolation of a later date. The whole passage, with the exception of 19:29, is viewed as taken from the document J, which comes from a time subsequent to the date of the supposed happenings of the story; but Jehovah's decision to reveal the destruction of Sodom to Abram in 18:17-19, and Abram's prayer in 18:22b-33a, are considered insertions by an even later writer into the J narrative. Hence this prayer of Abram's is not a part of the real story but is an anachronism—a reading back of later experience into a more primitive context. On what ground is this assumption made? On the purely *a priori* ground that the idea of God among primitive men in the days of Abram was such that private prayer experiences with Him were impossible. We are told that "private prayer was not typical of the early life of Israel," because "anything holy was dangerous to meddle with, and, far from having ethical connotation, holiness meant unapproachableness."[4] Whatever was

[4]Fosdick, Harry Emerson, *A Guide to Understanding the Bible,* p. 209. Harper and Brothers, New York.

holy was "full of a mysterious and perilous potency with which the prudent would have as little as possible to do. . . . One does not go into one's room and shut the door to commune in secret with such a deity."[5] And with this, the story of Abram's prayer is dismissed as a product of subsequent centuries; and we are told that when we think of Abram, (if, indeed, there were any Abram), we are to recognize that he never engaged in experiences of private prayer. What is this but saying that the artist who painted this word picture has given us a wrong impression and that his work must be rearranged and retouched to give us a true historic view of Abram's experience?

On the other hand, what does the traditionalist do with this prayer? He, too, forgets that it is a part of a larger whole and draws conclusions from it which would not be suggested if the passage were viewed in the light of its relationships. One such writer tells us that this prayer is an example of the fact that men can change the purpose of God. "The declared purpose of God to destroy Sodom confronted Abraham, and his soul within him was greatly moved because of his great interest in that fated city. His nephew and family resided there. That purpose of God must be changed. God's decree for the destruction of this evil city's inhabitants must be revoked. Abraham sets himself to change God's purpose and to save Sodom."[6] Regardless of the fact that this writer failed to recognize the total picture of which this passage is a part, one wonders how he could fail to note the fatal implications of his interpretation—that Abram was evidently superior to God in love and mercy for sinning men, and that men have to persuade God to lay aside His anger, as one would deal with an irritable earthly tyrant. And then, carrying this type of interpretation further, the writer suggests that Abram "had a kind of optimistic view of the piety of Sodom," and that if he had not, out of his "goodness of heart overestimated the number of pious people" in Sodom and had "reduced his figures still further," God might have spared the destruction of the city. Need we point out further the questionable results of this approach?

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[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 209 f.

[6]Bounds, Edward M., *The Weapon of Prayer*, pp., 27f. By permission of Fleming H. Revell, Publishers, New York.

Now let us endeavor to recognize the art form in which this passage is cast and permit it to speak for itself. First of all, a look at the entire book of Genesis will indicate that the author is not giving us a chronicle of historic events but is selecting a few significant incidents from a wide range of possibilities to create the impression he desires upon the reader. The general impression which the book gives is that of a bottle-neck roadway, beginning with a universal note, racing rapidly through hundreds of years, retarding its progress and narrowing its interest to a family and then an individual, finally broadening out once more to take in a family which has implications regarding a future nation and the whole human race. The passage with which we are dealing comes at the point where the narrowing process is bringing into clear relief the individual upon whom the whole story hinges.

At the opening of chapter 12 we have a family migration into Canaan, with two branches of the family making the journey together—Abram and "Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran." Almost immediately upon arrival in Canaan, Jehovah appears unto Abram and makes the promise, "Unto thy seed will I give this land," but nothing is said about Lot and his seed. Then, in chapter 19, Lot passes off the scene, a pathetic, disgraceful character, while almost immediately after, in chapters 21 and 22, the story of Abram reaches its happy climax. Lot, then, is incidental to the story. He is brought in merely to throw light on the character of Abram and to minister to the dominant impression of him which the writer is trying to create.

In utilizing Lot for that purpose, the writer employs the law of contrast. The dazzling brilliance of snowy white can best be seen in contrast to a dark background. Just so the majestic grandeur of a large soul can best be seen in contrast to the dwarfed stature of a petty soul. Why does the story which begins with Lot narrow to exclude him? Because Lot was not made of the stuff which met the demands of the high calling of which this story is speaking. And the smallness of this ungrateful nephew is used by the author of the story to bring into bold relief the overshadowing greatness of his uncle.

Note how these two characters are thrown over against each other in every instance where they appear together. In chapter 12 we read, "So Abram went . . . and Lot went with him." But Jehovah appears unto Abram, and not unto Lot; and it is said of Abram, "there builded he an altar unto Jehovah," but of Lot nothing is said in this regard. Geographically they were together; in spiritual interest and understanding they were separated by a tremendous gulf. Then, in chapter 13, after an account of trouble in Egypt, we read that "Abram went up out of Egypt . . . and Lot with thim." Then note the contrast! "And there Abram called on the name of Jehovah. And Lot also, who went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents." Abram's interest in Jehovah is thrown over against Lot's interest in "flocks, and herds, and tents."

After this, because their herdsmen quarreled, they separated. Abram, to whom rightfully belonged the choice, allowed Lot to choose the section of country which he would take for his own. And, true to his love for "flocks, and herds, and tents," Lot immediately took the best land. Then, says the author, Jehovah spake unto Abram "after that Lot was separated from him," emphasizing again the contrast between these two men. The covenant is renewed with great-hearted Abram, but there is no voice of God to selfish Lot. And again Abram built "an altar unto Jehovah," while Lot went off with his "flocks, and herds, and tents."

In chapter 14 the contrast is continued and sharpened. Selfish, earth-horizoned Lot, because of his greedy choice, found himself in trouble. There were other selfish people abroad to whom the riches of Sodom were enticing. And they made war on Sodom and Gomorrah, "and they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, and went their way. And they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed." What did Abram say? "Good! It's just what he deserves for his selfishness"? No. On the contrary, he went out at great personal risk and rescued him from the hand of his captors. What then? In the moment of victory, when most conquerors would be strutting in self-esteem, Abram made no demands on any of those he had rescued. In fact, he not only refused to "take a thread nor a shoe-latchet nor aught" that was theirs, but

he actually paid "a tenth of all" to a priest of God. His behavior was determined by his relationship to "Jehovah, God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth." But what about Lot? As soon as he is rescued, he drops out of the picture. There is not a word of gratitude from him, nor the slightest suggestion that he had learned anything out of this judgment on his selfishness. As soon as the danger was over, he hurried back to Sodom to his "flocks, and herds, and tents." Then again, says the author, "After these things the word of Jehovah came unto Abram." Behavior like this brought Abram the divine approval, but Jehovah had no word for Lot.

Now in the light of this great contrast, where Lot is used as a dark background to bring out the brilliance of the character of Abram, let us look at the prayer in chapter 18. Chapters 18 and 19 are set side by side as the grand climax to the contrast between these two characters. They are both made aware of a great crisis, and the author depicts the behavior of each to reveal the inherent excellency of one and the blameworthy meanness of the other. This prayer, then, must not be segregated from its surroundings and viewed as an incident in itself but must be interpreted as a part of a large picture and seen in the light of the author's purpose in using it. Jehovah has told Abram that He is going to destroy Sodom. Abram has nothing at stake there. His only personal link with the city is an ungrateful nephew who has been more bother to him than he is worth. But to note Abram's behavior in this instance one would think that he had everything at stake in Sodom. He pleads with Jehovah to spare the city if it is at all possible, and he searches for a valid ground on which to base his plea that this city, which from the angle of self-interest meant nothing to him, might be spared. But what of Lot? He is a member of this doomed city. He has profited from its business. He is related to its citizens through the marriage of his daughters. He has had friendly intercourse with his neighbors through many years. One would expect that he might be somewhat concerned over the possible destruction of all those with whom he had been so closely related. But is he? The story suggests not the slightest bit of concern for anyone but himself. The inhabitants of the entire city can go up in smoke as far as he is concerned, just so he saves his

own neck. And, furthermore, after being urged to flee to the mountains for safety, wholly unmindful of the doom of his fellows, "he is so disengaged from regrets and compassion that he can nicely weigh the comparative comfort and advantage of city and rural life."[7] Poor Lot—still interested in himself, his "flocks, and herds, and tents," and nothing else.

Does not the meaning of this prayer, viewed in the light of its relationships, stand out clearly? The prayer is not included for its own sake. The author is not trying to solve the question of providential judgment and defend the character of God, nor is he trying to urge us always to make greater demands on God when we pray, instead of stopping short. Such questions as these have no right to be raised in connection with this passage, for the author is not dealing with them. Perhaps he could have solved them for us if he had had a mind to, but he is talking about something else entirely. He is picturing for us, against the dark background of a temporizing, selfish, self-indulgent man, the greatness of the character of Abram, the father of the faithful. Lot, who is greatly indebted to the city of Sodom, "is in no agony about its destruction, and had indeed but one prayer to offer, and that is, that when all his fellow-townsmen are destroyed, he may be comfortably provided for."[8] Abram, on the other hand, who had no indebtedness to Sodom, but to whom Sodom owed its very existence, because he had rescued the Sodomites from their conquerors, "never prayed for himself with a tithe of the persistent earnestness" with which he prayed for that city. What more effective means could the author have chosen to bring out the excellence of this great soul? Or what more fitting reason could be given for the fact that, immediately after this, Lot drops out of the picture in disgrace while Abram comes to the glorious climax of his career, when Jehovah gives him the final promise that in his seed "all the nations of the earth" should be blessed? Abraham has proven himself to be the kind of character through whom a divine purpose could be worked out. The narrowing process is complete. God has found His man, one out of whose loins shall come a family, and a race through whom the world will be blessed.

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[7]Dods, Marcus, Commentary on Genesis, *Expositor's Bible, ad loc.* T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, Publishers.

[8]*Ibid.*

To interpret this passage apart from its relationships is to miss its meaning and to lose its force, besides running the danger of reading ideas into it which the author never intended. On the other hand, to cut it out as spurious is to take the heart out of the story, and to leave it a lifeless, meaningless chronicle of historic events. A recognition of the form in which the author has painted his word picture permits the passage to speak for itself.

This rather detailed attempt to illustrate the relative merits of three different approaches to the Bible was made with a very practical issue in mind. The Bible is here to stay, and Christian ministers must deal with it in one way or another. The issue each one must face is, Which approach shall I follow? It is doubtful whether the average minister who has been trained during the last twenty-five years is in much danger of accepting the traditional approach. It seems hardly questionable, however, that a large percentage of them have—either with reluctance or eagerness—adopted the critical view which insists on changing the picture to make it intelligible to the twentieth century mind. The question at issue, then, is whether this new, widely adopted approach is sound, and whether it will accomplish what needs to be accomplished in the Church today; or whether, if the Scriptures are to exercise the influence they ought in the life of the world, the critical approach will not have to be abandoned or radically modified in favor of the *art form* approach about which we are thinking. Having contrasted these two approaches in one specific instance, let us now look at some broader implications of each in the light of its handling of the whole Bible, particularly the Old Testament.

In Dr. Fosdick's recent book *A Guide to Understanding the Bible,* we have given to us in a single volume a clear and popular presentation of the main results of the critical study of the Bible up to the present. Though on many questions critics are not in full agreement, we may regard as fulfilled Dr. Fosdick's hope that he has "presented without undue distortion or prejudice a picture of the major trends of thought in the Jewish-Christian Scriptures"[9] from the critical view-point. This apt translation of the technical results of critical scholarship into such a readable and integrated

[9] p. xii.

form will no doubt have a wide acceptance with the average minister who has adopted this approach to the Bible, and it is safe to say that the picture of the Scriptures here presented will be basic for many of those who fill Christian pulpits. It is a new picture, as Dr. Fosdick readily admits. He says that the first result of the critical approach was to tear "the once unified Book into many disparate and often contradictory documents," but the "final result has turned out to be constructive, putting the Bible together again"[10] on a new basis. Admittedly, the old picture, the classic masterpiece which came out of the rich genius of the Hebrew people, has been rearranged and retouched and we have a professedly better picture painted for us by twentieth century artists. Let us in a very general way place the new picture and the old one side by side and then note two or three questions which ought to be considered in deciding which of the two pictures we shall accept.[11]

The new picture begins with Moses. The historic basis of the patriarchal stories is so negligible that they are to be regarded as legends constructed by later Hebrews and associated with the sacred places in Canaan which were taken over from the Baal worshippers. They are decorative details inserted by later artists which do not form an essential part of the picture. Moses fled from Egypt and joined himself to the Kenites, "a Midianite tribe of nomads living in the desert about Sinai,"[12] whose God was Yahweh. Marrying into this tribe, Moses accepted his wife's god. Then later, (we are not told how nor under what circumstances), Moses "led his fellow tribesmen from their bondage and at the 'mountain of God' converted them to the same allegiance. There Yahweh and the tribes from Egypt were wedded with mutual exchange of vows. The tribal deity of the Kenites took a new people as his own and a confederation of clans that never before had served Yahweh swore fealty to him as their divinity.[13] Moses and his companions were pure polytheists, and the Yahweh to whom they had become converted was just one among many. Like Zeus on

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[10]*Ibid.*, p. ix.

[11]We shall deal only with Dr. Fosdick's presentation of the developing idea of God in the Old Testament.

[12]p. 3.

[13]*Ibid.*

Mt. Olympus, Yahweh was a mountain god. He abode an Sinai, and was so confined to his mountain home that when they began to journey he could not go along, but had to send an angel with them. In common with other deities of that time, Yahweh was a storm god, who sent out lightning and thunder from his mountain; a war god, whose major activity was fighting for his subjects; a tribal god who hated all Israel's enemies, an anthropomorphic god with human characteristics, to whom food was offered in worship.

The first sign of development is apparent when Yahweh became the territorial deity of Canaan, supreme over other deities in that locality, though powerless elsewhere. At this time he also became an agricultural deity, since the tribes were settling down to an agricultural life and needed to add this function to the warlike characteristic of their god. Then Yahweh became a god of the sky, released from mundane limitations, who could display his power outside the Holy Land and could be worshipped in foreign countries. In the days of Elijah, who was concerned "not so much with a theological discussion as with a social revolt,"[14] we have the specific dawn of ethicism, relating Yahweh to ethical social practices. At this stage in the picture the Hebrews had advanced beyond pure polytheism to henotheism or monolatry, but still they were not monotheists.

The early writing prophets of the 8th and 7th centuries moved out into practical monotheism, with their idea of Yahweh in commanding control of all men, of whatever nation, and they emphasized the ethical character of Yahweh by raising him above the inequities of common practice as a moral judge. This monotheism was sharpened by establishing a central place of worship to aid in convincing the common people of the oneness of Yahweh. Then, at the time of the exile, when the city and the temple were destroyed, Yahweh was released entirely from place and became completely spiritualized and universalized. The marvel of this triumph of monotheism was that, unlike Egyptian monotheism which was associated with imperialism, it arose out of defeat and failure. Then there was a period of retrogression during the Exile, when, through an effort to differentiate themselves from their captors, the Hebrews

[14] *Ibid.*

constructed the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17-26, brought the story of the creation to a climax to emphasis Sabbath observance and rewrote their laws in a more rigid form. Thus the Old Testament ends in an unsolved paradox: the combination of spirituality and universality with fanatical dogmatism and nationalism. This is the new picture, the reconstruction of the outmoded Hebrew classic, the twentieth century improvement of the greatest literary masterpiece of the ancient world.

The Hebrew picture is too familiar to need elaborate exposition. It is written not from the angle of a developing idea of God but from the view-point of the self-revelation of the One Personal God through creation and redemption. It begins with "a confident monotheism," Abram referring to God as "Jehovah, God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth."[15] It depicts very dramatically a covenant which this God made with one man, whereby he was chosen to be the vehicle of making Him known to the rest of the world. Then it shows us how, by supernatural means, God ratified His covenant to future generations and made a great nation out of them by redeeming them from Egyptian slavery. As a result of this redemption, they accept God as their King and receive from Him instructions for a type of life which will express their relationship to Him and enable them to acquaint the rest of the world with Him. The rest of the story is the description of the alternate successes and failures of this nation based on their obedience or disobedience to the inner meanings of their redemptive mission to the world. The picture is not so much that of a developing idea as of a development in interpreting and understanding the ideas implicit in their original covenant and their great redemptive experience. As P. T. Forsyth, in his notable Yale Lectures says, "The Bible is not a history of Israel, but it is a history of redemption. It is not the history of an idea but of a divine act. . . . It makes history more than it is made by history."[16]

As these two pictures are placed side by side, among many con-

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[15]Genesis 14:22. This and other Biblical quotations are taken from the American Standard Version of the Scriptures and are quoted by permission of the copyrighters, the International Council of Religious Education. D. C. Heath and Company, Publishers, Boston.

[16]*Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind,* pp. 10 f. A. C. Armstrong and Son, Publishers, New York.

siderations three seem to stand out clearly. First, the new picture is inferior to the original from the *literary* standpoint. As R. G. Moulton says, "Whatever may be the truth as to the process by which books of Scripture assumed the form in which we have them, it is not questioned that they represent the history as it presented itself to the mind of the nation itself." "The Old Testament is the History of the People of Israel as presented by itself."[17] Hence, it is autobiographical, and thus unchangeable. Autobiography cannot be revised, for the moment it is revised it is no longer autobiography. To rewrite it as history is to take out of it the very element that makes it great—the personal quality of the author who is revealing the depths of his own experience in a fashion that no outsider can do. No drastic revision of great literature can equal the original. We may want to throw light on the meaning of certain obscure words and ideas Dante uses in his *Divine Comedy,* but who would think of rewriting him to bring him up to date? To rewrite Dante may make him more intelligible to the twentieth century, but it would lack the thing which made the original great—the genius of Dante, which is not reproducible. Hence, the revision would of necessity be inferior. To quote Moulton again, "Now, autobiography belongs to that class of literature which is thus eternal and unalterable. Had the sacred literature taken the form of science or history, there must have been a revised Bible for each fresh generation; and this, not because of a weakness in the Bible itself, but from the very nature of history and science. But as the autobiography of our religion the Bible stands fixed and unalterable; more truly than any creed, it is our sacred literature that makes the 'faith once for all delivered to the saints.' "[18] Yes, to attempt to rewrite our Bible is to enter upon a work which is foredoomed to inferiority. The reviser must face the fact that it was the Old Testament *in its present form* which exercised its mighty influence over our Lord; it was the Old Testament *in its present form* which accomplished its work in the lives of the makers of the New Testament; it was the Old Testament and the New

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[17]Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible, pp. 21 f. D. C. Heath and Company, Publishers, Boston.

[18]*World Literature,* p. 76. By permission of The Macmillan Company, Publishers, New York.

in their present form which exerted the widest influence over the life of man of any literature in existence. Is it not likely, then, that if the Bible is to continue to exert its wide influence, it will do so not in a revised form but as it now stands?

The second thing which is apparent is that the new picture is *psychologically* inferior to the original. The historian is interested in external events, while the psychologist is interested in the inner quality of an experience. Two men may be sitting side by side in church, while one is worshipping and the other figuring out how he is going to improve his golf strokes. The historian deals with the mere external fact that both men are physically in church; the psychologist deals with the inner experience of each. The psychologist does not ask of any recorded experience, "Is it true or false?" but "Is it psychologically genuine?" And then he draws his conclusion as to the truth of it from that. So, in viewing these two arrangements of Old Testament history, the psychologist is not so much concerned with which of the two is truer to external historic development as we know it from other sources but which has the deeper psychological insight and which comes nearer embodying the qualities of genuine experience. The one which is most satisfactory from those angles, to be sure, will be true. One illustration will serve to show which of the two pictures has more psychological force. The new picture tells us that Moses accepted Yahweh through marrying a Kenite wife and, after leading his fellow tribesmen out of Egypt, persuaded them to accept Yahweh too. There is no unusual psychological quality in this experience—just a tame, cold-blooded decision to trade one god for another, (as though the tenacious hold Yahweh had on the Israelites came about through such a mild process!) On the other hand, look at the psychological force of the Biblical story. There is a significant background of preparation in the stories of the Patriarchs, particularly in that of Joseph, who dies in the consciousness that his people are to go up out of Egypt and requests that they take his bones with them when they go. Think of the power of that hope in the lives of his people as they long for release from unbearable slavery! Then Yahweh, through Moses, works miracles, takes them through the Red Sea as on dry land, delivers them from their oppressors

and makes them a nation! Then, *after all that,* these people covenant with Yahweh to serve Him. That is why, throughout their history, they look back to their deliverance from Egypt as the most potent experience of their national existence. Yes, that is why orthodox Jews today, more than three thousand years later—scattered as a nation, persecuted and hated—religiously keep their Passover memorial to this great experience. "Jehovah did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their hosts."[19] There is more here than the reading of religious significance into natural events. Ideas do not get such a tenacious hold on a nation and have such uncanny survival power through that process. Something happened in the experience of this people which is written so indelibly into their national life that it can never be effaced. There is psychological force in the Hebrews' telling of their own experience which brands it as genuine and makes the new story tame and pointless by comparison.

Finally, the new picture lacks the *theological* force of the original. It is a picture of developing ideas, where men of insight see in the ordinary experiences of life truths which are deeper and more spiritual than those seem by the average man. These spiritual ideas are the result of "human discovery." To be sure, there is "an objective spiritual world to be discovered," and the theist may see in the process of discovery the accompanying process of "divine self-revelation."[20] But revelation seems to be the quality of being able to be discovered, the willingness of the divine to yield itself up to human search. That which in the old picture seemed supernatural is explained and made reasonable, and the claims of revelation are put "in a new and thoroughly consistent light."[21] And if an idea is discovered for which we cannot account, we are "thrown back in wonder upon the 'abysmal depths of personality' in the great prophets."[22]

But is the divine revelation an idea, or an act of redemption? Has God merely given us truths about Himself or has He acted in our behalf? Is our faith the result of a process of human search

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[19]Exodus 12:51.
[20]Fosdick, *supra,* p. xiv.
[21]Paul Elmer More, in Foreword to Dr. Fosdick's book.
[22]Fosdick, p. 24.

after reality or is it the accomplishment of divine redemption? The new picture involves the former, and the original the latter, of these antitheses. The new picture leads men to view our faith as a recent preacher did when he spoke of "that noblest hypothesis about life which is Christianity"; while the old picture says, "We were Pharoah's bondmen in Egypt: and Jehovah brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand; and Jehovah showed signs and wonders, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and all his house, before our eyes; and he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he sware unto our fathers."[23] The new is the development of an idea; the original is an act of redemption.

But we can never be saved by ideas. As Percy Ainsworth has said, the new view "involves a profound mistake. It suggests that the real need of the world is a few gracious, timely lessons. But the failure of so many teachers—teachers with music in their voices, sympathy in their hearts, and logic in their minds—gives the lie to that suggestion. . . . The world's great need is not a lesson, it is a miracle—the crowning, all-inclusive miracle of grace."[24] And this miracle of grace, in the words of J. H. Oldham, "is not primarily a set of ideas or duties, but the story of something that happened in history, something that because it happened has led to a belief about the nature of reality that is staggering and incredible to the natural reason. It is that God by His own act has created a new order of human life in which men are called to live."[25]

It is a distinct theological fallacy in the new picture that it either subordinates or eliminates the Biblical account of God's redeeming action in working for Israel in a way in which He had worked for no other people and turns the story into a progressive development of ideas which grew out of an ordinary history like that of any other nation. This recasting of the story may make it more acceptable to the modern mind and place the claims of revelation in a "thoroughly consistent light," but it robs it of its

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[23]Deuteronomy 6:21-23.

[24]*The Pilgrim Church,* p. 64. Fleming H. Revell, Publishers, New York.

[25]"*The Expository Times,* March, 1939, p. 243.

dynamic, of the essential quality which differentiates the Hebrew story from every other. "An explanation may be perfectly reasonable and quite wrong." It is not without weighty reason, then, that a review of Dr. Fosdick's presentation of the new picture analyzes it thus: "There is one main criticism which the book as a whole suggests. It seems to be an achievement of almost pure humanism. . . . There is little in the record of that process in the book before us to suggest God at all. Indeed, one constantly feels the superfluity of any such hypothesis. And that is why one is rather shy of the title 'understanding the Bible.' "[26] Because of its humanistic, rather than theocentric, emphasis, the new picture is theologically inadequate.

The final word on Bible study has not been said. The critical view seems to hold the field today. But time will demonstrate that, whatever the value of the critical process, it is impossible to recast the Bible into something which is no longer the Bible and still have it do the work that the Bible is inherently designed to accomplish. The retouched product has neither sufficient literary, psychological nor theological force to stand the test of time. We need, then, to turn our attention from futile, though ingenious, attempts to improve upon this greatest of all masterpieces. In the words of Prof. Duncan Black Macdonald, we must read our Bibles "not for content—edifying or theological—nor for criticism—historical or textual—but purely for the effect of each passage upon ourselves."[27] We must sit before it as it is, receptively and intelligently, until it makes its impression upon us and rekindles in us some of the fires which burned in the hearts of the men who produced it. It is eminently fitted to do this if we give it opportunity.

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[26] *The Expository Times,* March, 1939, p. 253.

[27] *The Hebrew Literary Genius,* p. 5. Princeton University Press, Publishers, Princeton, N. J.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND GENUINENESS OF THE GREAT COMMISSION

(Matthew 28:16-20)

By the Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D.,
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A genuine book is one written by the person whose name it bears. An authentic book is one which relates matters of fact as they really happened. A passage in a book may be authentic without being genuine and genuine without being authentic. Is the Great Commission either or both? Some higher critics claim that it is neither.

Readers of the monumental history of *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity* by Adolf von Harnack will remember that in his fourth chapter he denies the universality of Jesus' mission and outlook: "Jesus addressed his gospel—his message of God's imminent kingdom and of judgment, of God's fatherly providence, of repentance, holiness, and love—to his fellow-countrymen. He preached only to Jews. Not a syllable shows that he detached this message from its national soil, or set aside the traditional religion as of no value. Upon the contrary, his preaching could be taken as the most powerful corroboration of that religion . . . Such is the 'universalism' of the preaching of Jesus. No other kind of universalism can be proved for him, and consequently he cannot have given any command upon the mission to the whole world. *The gospels contain such a command, but it is easy to show that it is neither genuine nor a part of the primitive tradition.* It would introduce an entirely strange feature into the preaching of Jesus, and at the same time render many of his genuine sayings unintelligible or empty." (Vol. I, pp. 36, 37.)

Bishop N. S. Talbot of Great Britain writes: "Take away the last verses of St. Matthew's Gospel containing, 'The Great Commission'—and, with their almost Trinitarian language, they are suspected by the critics—take them away, and how very few

sayings of Christ are left to make clear the world-wide range of His Mission! Indeed, there are sayings, harsh and startling which tell the other way—'I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the House of Israel . . . .' 'Go not into any city of the Gentiles. Were the Gentiles, after all, included in His aim? Did He transcend racial barriers and limitations? Really and historically have the life and teaching of Jesus a world-wide range? They are so very Jewish." (*The Student Movement* (London), November, 1933.)

The primary reason for this attitude toward the closing section of the Gospel is, perhaps, anti-supernaturalism. But, as Dr. Rawlinson of Oxford remarks in his commentary on Mark, "There is no non-supernatural Christianity in the New Testament."

What, then, is the evidence for the genuineness of this Great Commission and its authenticity? The question surely is important.

I

The theory of Harnack, first of all, has against it all the manuscript evidence. The genuineness of the text in Matt. 28:19-20 is undisputed except on rationalistic ground. When Conybeare, about 1901, claimed external evidence against it in the shorter form found as a quotation in Eusebius, he was answered by Riggenbach most conclusively. From the end of the second century to the beginning of the fourth century no trace of the Eusebian shorter form of the text exists. On the contrary, the present form can be traced to the end of the second century in North Africa, Rome and Gaul and to early in the third century in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Riggenbach even traces it back to Tatian and Justin Martyr. We return to this later. See also the bibliography at the end of this article.

The evidence of the manuscripts, uncials and cursives, as well as of all the ancient versions, is overwhelmingly in favor of the authenticity of the passage. Bernard H. Cuneo writes (p. 37): "The fact that the Curetonian has *nothing* after Matt. 23:25 and the Bobiensis *nothing* after 15:36 cannot even by the wildest stretch

of the imagination be ascribed to efforts to suppress a more ancient and, therefore, presumably untrinitarian reading of Matt. 28:19." These manuscripts are merely damaged by use.

And F. H. Chase remarks, in answer to Conybeare: "It is only when we shut our eyes to facts that we can persuade ourselves, or allow ourselves to be persuaded, that it was possible for words to have been interpolated into the text of the Gospels without a trace of their true character surviving in the manuscripts and versions." (*Journal Theol. Studies,* 1905, p. 499.)

In Nestle's Greek text of the New Testament "the apparatus at the foot of each page indicates *every* variation of any importance in the resultant text" based on the various manuscripts, but here *there is not a single variation noted, except the omission of "Amen."*

The International Critical Commentary refers to the articles by Conybeare, Lake, Riggenbach and Chase and concludes that the evidence of Eusebius, which they allege conclusive, must be regarded as indecisive in view of the fact that *all Greek* manuscripts and all extant versions contain the clause of trinitarian baptism (p. 307).

II

The conception of Father, Son and Holy Spirit is as ancient as the Christian Church itself. It was so for St. Paul (I Cor. 12:3, II Cor. 13:14); for St. Peter (I Peter 1:2); and for St. John (I John 3:23, 24). One has only to read the New Testament carefully to realize that the doctrine of the Trinity is found in all the Gospels and all the epistles like a watermark in bond-paper. Only one must hold it up to the light of faith and not look on the pages in the darkness of doubt and prejudice.

Therefore this objection to the genuineness and authenticity of the Great Commission loses its force. Although the text is found (as we have noted) in all the manuscripts and versions, some critics regard it as an interpolation or at least as an unauthentic utterance of Jesus. They argue that the baptisms described in the New Testament are *"into the name of Jesus"* and not into the Triune name. (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5).

Therefore so stereotyped a formulation of the Trinitarian doctrine must be of much later date than the Apostolic age. But a careful study of all baptisms in the New Testament does not at all indicate that the converts to Christianity were *not* baptized by the formula of Matt. 28:19. The argument from silence is never conclusive. Whether Christ spoke the words or not, the formula *is* of the very early Church. It was known to Clement of Rome (A. D. 90), who has three trinitarian statements. It is the basis of the earliest form of the Apostles' Creed (c. 100 A. D.). It is quoted by the *Didaché* (c. 110 A. D.) and is definitely alluded to by Justin Martyr (A. D. 150). "It may be doubted whether any other single text in the New Testament has such early and satisfactory attestation." (Dummelow, p. 721.)

The question whether the Son of Man *could* utter such words is entirely beside the point. Most commentators date the glorification of Christ not from his ascension but from the resurrection. Here Christ speaks as one who has all authority *in heaven* and on earth. This is the view of St. Augustine, of most of the Fathers, of Albertus Magnus, of the Schoolmen, and of many modern authorities. (Dummelow.)

Von Gerlach correctly says: "The Resurrection of Jesus and not his Ascension was his entrance into the new, eternal, divine and heavenly life, as in it all power in heaven and upon earth was already given to Him." A similar opinion is expressed by Milligan and Westcott.

Even Harnack, who denies the authenticity of the Great Commission, admits its appropriateness as the *climax* to Matthew's account of the King of the Jews. (Vol. I, p. 40, footnote.) "On the other hand," he says, "we must observe that the first evangelist opens with the story of the wise men from the East (though even this section admits of a strictly Jewish Christian interpretation), that he includes viii:11, that he shows his interest in the people who sat in darkness (iv:13 f.), that he described Jesus (xii:21) as One in whose name the Gentiles trust, that he contemplates the preaching of the gospel to all the Gentiles in the eschatological speech and in the story of the anointing at Bethany, and that no positive proofs can be adduced for regarding xxviii:19 f. as an interpolation."

So this great scholar and critic admits in a footnote what is

apparently denied in his text! Only *negative* proofs are available against the authenticity and genuineness of the words of Jesus on the mountain in Galilee.

"What greater evidence of the deity and majesty of Christ," says Meinertz, "can we find than this passage, in which He possesses all power in the universe; He is omnipresent in the history of his Church; He has a place in the glorious unity of the Trinity—The name; He commands his disciples to a universal mission before he leaves them; and He establishes the sacrament of initiation for a universal fellowship." All this is asserted in forty Greek words,—an eloquence greater than that of Moses, even as this one commandment is wider and more glorious than the Ten Commandments of Mt. Sinai.

III

A third argument against the genuineness of the Great Commission comes from those who claim that the references of Eusebius to baptism bear on the question and settle it. In 1901-02 Conybeare wrote three articles on the Eusebian form of the Text (Matt. 28:19), the first in a German theological magazine, the second in the *Hibbert Journal* and the third summarizing his conclusion in *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910), article "Baptism." His argument is directed primarily against verse 19 on baptism and not against the entire passage. So that, as Meinertz remarks, even if the baptismal form should be suspect, this does not touch the rest of the text in Matthew's Gospel.

But the various passages in Eusebius cite the words of Matt. 28:19 in *three forms*. Of these the first and second do not have the threefold name; but the third form, *even in the Eusebian texts* (five times), *has the same words as in the textus receptus*.

A Roman Catholic theologian, Bernard Henry Cuneo, a Protestant theologian of Basel, Eduard Riggenbach, and two other scholars, F. H. Chase and J. R. Wilkinson, have answered the arguments of Conybeare fully and most convincingly. "All the surviving Greek codices were not produced by a band of conspirators. They grew up naturally in different portions of the Greek-speaking church. An interpolation could not be thus foisted into the text of the Gospels, and all evidences of its true character

be obliterated." (F. H. Chase in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905, "The Lord's Command to Baptise," p. 499.)

Riggenbach explains the shorter form from the tendency to make the sacraments mysterious and hide them—hence the omission of the baptismal formula when Eusebius simply wanted to show that Christ sent out disciples.

As to Origen, he twice cites Matt. 28:18a and has no reference to baptism or the Trinitarian formula. But there are passages in his Greek writings which show that he probably knew the text (28:19) in full. He connects "make disciples" with baptism in speaking of John the Baptist. He also uses the Trinitarian formula in writings which we have only in translation by Rufinus. Riggenbach shows that from the context we see that Origen was not merely referring to a practice but that he was quoting Matthew. The Clementine Homilies not only know the Trinitarian baptismal formula but show that it stood in the New Testament; or, as they use Matthew most frequently, they probably refer to Matt. 28:19.

In the Egyptian church the Memphitic version has it. The gnostic work *Pistis Sophia* refers to the Trinitarian baptismal formula—and in a description which seems to refer to Matt. 28:16ff. Also in the West, from the end of the second century on, there is more abundant evidence. Cyprian cites Matt. 28:19, in the same form—it must have been the form in their Latin Bible. Also it is cited by a Council of eighty Bishops who must have had the Greek text.

The conclusion is, that from the end of the second century to the beginning of the fourth century no traces of the Eusebian form of the text have been discovered. But on the contrary the *textus receptus* can be traced to the end of the second century in North Africa, Rome and Gaul and to early in the third century in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Hence Conybeare's claim is impossible, viz., that the Trinitarian formula first appeared in the Latin Bible in North Africa and later crept into the Greek manuscript. Riggenbach even traces it back to Tatian and Justin Martyr and, possibly, to Clement of Rome.

Cuneo cites *every one* of the passages in Eusebius on baptism and shows that even on this evidence the very argument of Conybeare falls to the ground. He considers each of the alleged

passages in detail and concludes: "Eusebius in citing Matt. 28:19 was true to that spirit of unfettered license which he generously permitted himself in every one of his writings . . . The fact that, in spite of his carelessness, Eusebius, in five instances, in his own works, quotes the passage exactly as we have it in the received text, brings the authenticity of Matt. 28:19 into bold relief." (Cuneo, p. 110.)

The notorious omissions, insertions and changes in the numerous citations of Eusebius undermine any inference that the Triune baptismal command was not the common text of the New Testament of his day.

IV

Lastly, we come to Harnack's statement that the Great Commission is not a genuine word of our Saviour because "he preached only to Jews." Jesus had no larger horizon than Palestine. He himself said, "I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The first to make the strange affirmation that Jesus' mission was to the Jews only was Reimarus in 1778, followed by Lessing, Pfleiderer, Wellhausen, Hilgenfeld, Eduard Meyer, Jülicher, Loisy and others. In reply to these writers of the liberal school Dr. Max Meinertz wrote his *Jesus und die Heidenmission* in which he shows conclusively the universal viewpoint and mission of Jesus Christ. He first gives a list of those scholars, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Liberal, who believe that Jesus Christ was conscious of a universal mission and that he had a world-horizon: Keim, Strauss, Hausrath, Bertholet, Baur, Paulus, Neander, Schleiermacher, Ewald, Kähler, Warneck, Barthold, Schlatter, Zahn and others. And he quotes from Dr. James Moffatt: "Partly owing to its contents, partly to its omissions, Harnack's chapter on the universal outlook of Jesus is at once the most controversial and perhaps the least convincing in the volume." (*Hibbert Journal,* I:581).

The argument of Meinertz is most illuminating. He points to the universalism of the Old Testament in its Messianic promises and prophecies and gives a picture of the universal outlook of contemporary Judaism through the diaspora and its wide proselytism. Could Jesus have had a narrower horizon than the Pharisees?

(John 7:35). Was he less interested in the Gentiles than Rabbi Hillel? The words of Christ in Matt. 23:15 were not a criticism of the Jewish propaganda spirit, but of its message.

Then, in later chapters, Meinertz describes the implied universalism in Jesus' teaching and also in his attitude toward the Judaism of his day; the clearly expressed universalism of his outlook and mission (pp. 84-113), e. g., in his dealings with Samaritans; his universal terms of invitation (Matt. 11:28); his parables of a universal judgment of the nations. Later chapters deal with the missionary idea latent in his choice of the twelve and their training, the sending of the seventy and many of his parables and prophecies. "This gospel must first be preached in all the world for a witness." "Verily I say unto you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world there also shall this that this woman has done be told for a memorial of her" (Matt. 26:13). And then the author of this remarkable monograph comes to the great closing scene in Matt. 28, with its parallel passages in Mark and Luke and the Acts, confirming their genuineness, illuminating their climactic significance and world-wide, age-long application (pp. 161-196). One could wish for an English translation of this great missionary volume the perusal of which is a devastating reply to all modern critical attacks on the authenticity and genuineness of the closing paragraphs of Matthew's Gospel.

"When they saw HIM they worshipped him . . . but some doubted." To those who believe, His last words are imperative.

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THE LUMBER RIVER SCOTS

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Lumber River in southeastern North Carolina takes its rise somewhere in the foothills northwest of Fayetteville and flows lazily southward between Scotland and Hoke counties, finally emptying into the Pee Dee in South Carolina. In the pioneer days, before the forests which covered its watershed and filled its valleys were cut, it was much larger than it is now, more important, too, as it served as a highway to the coast. During the vast migrations from Scotland and northern Ireland that dotted settlements all along the eastern coast of America, a group of Highland Presbyterians found their way into the fertile valley of this river.

This particular section of North Carolina has always been of special interest to students of pioneer days. To begin with, it was settled largely by Highlanders and among them there was a strong Tory group. It was to this section that the romantic Flora Macdonald came for safety when forced to leave Scotland. It holds a special interest for students of early Presbyterian settlements also. The troubles that arose in Revolutionary times among families and neighbors over their divided allegiance between the Colonies and the Crown brought on bitterness, persecution and bloodshed and some of them moved on further west to settle in Alabama and Mississippi. For many years the presence of kin in these western sections kept up a steady migration among those who felt the urge for new places with larger opportunities, and so new Presbyterian settlements were formed, and with them churches and schools.

The settlers in Lumber River Valley were outstanding in that as a group they were people of means and culture. They were able to obtain large tracts of land and they promoted education wherever they lived. In their homes there were the best books to be had at the time. One of this group, who might be taken

as typical, has been described as, "distinguished for his even temper and amiability; he was always courteous and considerate, very quiet and unassuming in manner, an omnivorous reader and withal a man of constructive ability. He always stood for strict integrity in business and insisted upon high standards in social affairs." Here they laid the foundations of a life and culture that was to influence the State of North Carolina, the South and particularly the Presbyterian Church.

Part of the story of this community has been told in a remarkable book, *The Lumber River Scots and their Descendants,** by the Rev. J. E. Purcell, D. D., widely known in our Church as the former Secretary of Men's Work. The book is the family history of the McLeans, the Purcells, the McIntyres, the Torreys and the Gilchrists, all of whom are related and all of whom settled in the Lumber River Valley. These five families came to this section of North Carolina between 1765 and 1792, mostly from Argyleshire, Scotland, or nearby, and while some of them had kinsmen who were serving in the British army, the five pioneer settlers were loyal to the Colonies. Although this book is a family history and will be of primary interest to the many descendants of these pioneer settlers, it contains a wealth of information for all who are interested in the early history of the Presbyterian Church in eastern North Carolina and in Alabama and Mississippi. It is also a real contribution to the early history of North Carolina that deserves to stand along with Dr. James Sprunt's *The Chronicles of the Cape Fear River* and other books which have added to our knowledge of this famous section of the state.

"The writing and publication of this volume," says the author, "has a long history; life blood and consecrated family devotion have gone into it." John Edwin Purcell, Sr., the father of the author, started the collection of material, carried on the research most of his life and really laid the foundation of the book. Governor Angus W. McLean, his nephew, joined him later, worked on the task through his mature life, left extensive notes and outlines, directed in his will that these should be developed and published and made

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**The Lumber River Scots and Their Descendants.* The William Byrd Press, Richmond, Va. 870 pages. $5.00. May be secured from the author at Red Springs, N. C.

provision for their publication in book form. This work fell to Dr. Purcell, who as editor, compiler and writer, developed, expanded and re-wrote the material many times through a number of years and now has had the satisfaction of seeing his handsome volume through the press.

This book is more than a mere family record. It is an account of how a group of pioneer Presbyterians handed down to their children certain great conceptions of life, and how these were so genuinely lived that they became almost family virtues which have bound these families together through the years. Each generation seems to have felt an inner call to transmit through worthy living the sacred heritage that has been handed on to them and as a result there has gone out from this group a stream of men and women who have enriched both church and state. It is not the purpose of this article to enumerate all the virtues of these remarkable families but rather to point out that which will be of interest to a far wider group than those for whom the book was originally intended,—the foundations on which they built a noble family history with its outstanding contribution to society.

I. Their Service to the Church

In the first place, there runs through the generations a real interest in and an active support of the Church. Not all of the Scotch emigrants were deeply religious, but this group did possess a genuine Christian faith. Here is a description of John McLean, the founder of the McLean family: "Like many of the earlier Scotch settlers he was very strict in his ideas of morals and was what might be called a Puritan in this respect . . . His life exhibited the strength of self-restraint and set forth ideals of character and conduct which are elevating. He owned a large number of slaves, and he controlled them in a spirit of benevolent autocracy. He was strict in his ideas of the observance of the Sabbath and permitted on this day no cooking to be done, and, in fact, allowed no secular activities to be carried on. This Sabbath observance was not confined to his own household, but he required his slaves to spend a greater part of the Sabbath day in

singing hymns and in other forms of religious worship. Even the children in the slave quarters were expected to devote a part of the Sabbath to the study of the Bible and the singing of songs and hymns."

The most famous pioneer woman in all that section was Christian McMillan, who was known in the settlement by her Gaelic name, *Chriosdaidh Ban*. "She dominated a whole section not because of any dictator spirit in her but because of her supremely great Christian character and her indomitable will to survive and to lead her family and section in laying the foundations of a new country."

The most widely known of these pioneers, among Presbyterian circles, was the Rev. John McIntyre. As a young man he was a shepherd in the Highlands of Scotland, was married and had one child before coming to eastern Carolina. There are stories of how he carried his Gaelic Testament and Gaelic books with him to work in the Highlands. He began his life in the new world as a farmer and took an active part in religious work as a layman, especially in the great revivals of 1802 and the years following. On account of his unusual gifts as a preacher, Orange Presbytery wished to license him as an extraordinary case, but he refused, saying he preferred to enter the ministry after he had stood the prescribed examinations. He passed these and was licensed in 1807 at the age of fifty-seven. He soon became the most outstanding Presbyterian preacher in this entire section, doing a remarkable piece of home mission work. For a number of years he was accustomed to preach in English in the morning and in the Gaelic in the afternoon for those who could not speak English. He was a stern reprover of what he considered sinful practices and very Puritanical in his views. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* selects for inclusion only two Presbyterians from North Carolina, Doctor Caldwell and Rev. John McIntyre.

The moral ideals of these early pioneers formed by reading the Bible and great literature were vitalized by a warm religious faith. A surprisingly large number have entered the ministry of our Church and of other churches as well. Quite a number of our older churches in this section and some in South Carolina,

Alabama and Mississippi were founded by the members of these families. In fact, it would be difficult to measure the influence that has been exerted by these families in building our Church, through elders, deacons, Sunday School teachers, young people's workers and Auxiliary leaders. Running down through the years there is a record of active church membership and a conception of life that found its highest expression in service. Their deep reverence for the Church, the Sabbath, and the Word of God proved a factor that not only made outstanding individuals but made for stable family life and created a remarkable coherence in these families now scattered all over the United States.

II. Their Service to Education

Perhaps a second explanation of the outstanding achievements of these families is to be found in their interest in education. Through the years they have made a large contribution to education, especially Christian education, in North Carolina. We are told little of the formal education of the pioneers in the sense in which we use that term today, but they were truly educated men and women in the sense that they loved and appreciated great literature. They were as deeply interested in the education of their children as they were in their religious welfare. Indeed the two were hard to separate in their thinking. At least one of the five pioneers, John Gilchrist, Sr., brought a tutor with him from Scotland.

In their libraries were to be found such famous works as Addison's *Spectator,* Junius' *Letters,* John Calvin's *Institutes,* Milton's *Works,* Cicero's *Orations,* Virgil's *Aeneid,* Homer's *Iliad,* Shakespeare's *Works,* and, along with these, biographical, scientific and historical works. All these were more than mere ornaments of the home. The author of this book declares that "their constant delight in the noble thoughts expressed in noble forms reveals to the student of their times the springs of their culture and their broad, generous spirit."

Even those among the earlier generations who did not attend college were thoroughly grounded in the classics and many could read Latin and Greek fluently. They received their training in

the private schools and academies for which that part of the State was famous in the early days. There were great men at the head of those schools, men who gave to their students much more than a formal education. They taught them how to live. The members of these families were the chief supporters of these schools, a number of which had a long and famous history before they were supplanted by the public schools. In these schools the distinction between secular and Christian education as we know it today was unknown. There was, instead, a fine blending of the two in the highest sense.

It is not surprising, then, that these families became the chief supporters of Christian education in eastern Carolina and elsewhere. The story of Flora Macdonald College is intimately bound up through its long history with various members of these distinguished families. Old Floral College was founded by John Gilchrist and Dr. A. D. McLean. It had the distinction of being the first college chartered by the Legislature of North Carolina and authorized to grant diplomas to women, and the third in the nation. John Gilchrist started out to practice law, but soon gave this up and settled on a large farm above what is now Red Springs. From then on the success of the school was the ruling passion of his life and he devoted all of his energy and most of his income to its upbuilding. For over twenty-five years he was the school's best friend and adviser and its work stands as a monument to his wisdom and foresight. When the school was later reorganized as Red Springs Seminary, Angus D. McLean became the chairman of the board of trustees and in this office rendered a fine service to the institution. His grandson, Governor Angus W. McLean, also served as chairman of the board of trustees and contributed largely to its financial support. Through the years a constant stream of their descendants have passed through this school, some of them becoming distinguished alumnæ.

It is an interesting fact also that these families were connected by marriage with the founders of Davidson College, Queen's College, North Carolina State College and Meredith College at Raleigh. It was a member of the Gilchrist family who founded Mississippi State College for women, the first State-endowed col-

lege for women in America. A member of the same family introduced the bill in the South Carolina Legislature which established the institution that finally became Winthrop College.

To the members of these families education has always been something more than a gateway into the business and professional world. It has been the path to larger and richer living. Through the years a surprisingly large number of them have been college graduates.

III. Their Emphasis on Family Life and Ties

Along with a vital Christian faith and a firm belief in the value of education, the consciousness of the value of family life and family ties has been perhaps the third most important factor which has made these families outstanding. One is impressed with the number of remarkable women in these families. They must have been the real molders of the strong family ties that have bound them together for so many generations. Here is a typical description: "She had an unshakable faith in the eternal truths of the Christian religion. The same was true of her husband, and together they found the fountain-head of their strength and their support in the Church of their Lord Jesus Christ. She possessed an intellect of unusual power. All of those who came in contact with her ever afterwards remarked on the strength of her mind, the depth of her convictions and the clarity of her judgments . . . She wanted her children to rank high in the world of human endeavor. She struggled to give them the best possible education and held before them the highest ideals." Often the summing up of a life story is like this: "He was affectionate to his family, faithful to his friends, energetic in business and earnest in religion."

Here is also a remarkable tribute to former Governor McLean: "Blood relationship commanded him. He inherited the deep and abiding affection of his Scotch forebears for his relatives, and this was cultivated by a study of the past generations. To him blood relationship meant abiding interest, family affection, and help in so far as this was possible." Love, almost reverence, for family ties was a passion in all these families, and without it

such a book as this could not have been written. This gave stability to the home as an institution through each period of change and chaos through which our country has passed. Divorce in the hundreds of families described is almost unknown. Since these were great homes, standing for the best and finest in life, they sent their children into the world with those virtues which made for character and usefulness to their country.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher in a recent article in *The New York Times* pointed out how we are beginning to realize that in our expanded and accelerated modern life society has lost something which the older generations possessed, and how our sociologists and those responsible for social planning are more and more realizing that if the present generation is to be adequate for the tasks being thrust upon it we must somehow recover the values that made for stable living in former days. She called her article, "The Family Rediscovered." *The Lumber River Scots* is a book which shows that love of home and family and kin is a tremendous force in the making of strong and stable characters.

While not intended for the popular reader, this book has made a real contribution to our Presbyterian heritage and history. It is remarkable how many of these lines have remained Presbyterian as they have married into other families through the years. There must be many other sections of our Southland where similar painstaking research would discover material that would add to and enrich our heritage from the early heroic days of the pioneers. Reinhold Niebuhr recently wrote that in our Western history the crisis at which we stand is the third in a series of which the first was the break-up of the old Roman world, and the second, the Renaissance and Reformation period. In our chaotic times when so much is in the process of change and when we look and plan for the new era that is to be, we should not forget that we can learn much from the past. Here is a remarkable story that centers our thoughts on those virtues which have made for stable and useful living through one hundred and fifty years of our American life.

THE UNION SEMINARY REVIEW

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I. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE BEARING OF ARCHAEOLOGY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. *By G. L. Robinson.* American Tract Society, New York. 207 pages. $1.75. The author, well known for many years as a traveller, lecturer and teacher of the Bible, will perhaps be best remembered in archæological circles for his discovery in 1900 of the Great High Place at Petra. His book, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization* (Macmillan, 1930), has achieved a wide circulation. This present volume comprises the Stone Lectures delivered by the author at Princeton Theological Seminary. Because there is a continuing demand for reliable popularizations in the field of archæology to make its assured results available to readers unprepared to grapple with the technical literature, we predict that this book will likewise be welcomed and widely read. Unfortunately, it must be used with care. At a number of points an apparent unawareness of the most recent literature, or perhaps a tendency to trust unreliable authorities, has betrayed the author into positions now generally abandoned. We mention only two examples. There is (pp. 149ff.) his espousal of the "Negebite Hypothesis" of Virolleaud and Dussaud which traced in the Keret Legend references to Terah, Asher, Zebulun, Ashdod and other Biblical places and people, but all of which have now been given more accurate, if less exciting, interpretations. There is (pp. 83ff.) his identification of the Amraphel of Gen. 14 with Hammurabi and the drawing of conclusions on that basis, although the identification is increasingly less in favor among scholars for philological if not for chronological reasons. But space does not suffice to list all the points which caused question. The attempt (p. 66) to derive the bull cult of Bethel from the Apis cult of Egypt is, unfortunately, only one among many. Suffice it to repeat the caution that the book must be used with care. The reader who is willing to do so will find here an hour or so of interesting and provocative reading. J. B.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL. *By W. F. Albright.* The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 238 pages. $2.25. The importance of archæological research for the understanding of the Bible is so well understood that to assert it becomes platitudinous. Yet the full significance of its contribution is scarcely as widely understood as it should be. This latest work of the distinguished Professor of Semitic Languages at Johns Hopkins University, his Ayer Lectures for the year 1940-41 at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, is accordingly to be recommended heartily to all students of the Bible. Not conceived upon as grand a scale as the author's highly important *From The Stone Age To Christianity*—which was reviewed in these pages April, 1941, and which we herewith take occasion to urge once more upon the reader as one of the significant works in the Biblical field in recent decades—it may be regarded as, in a sense, a supplement to that

work, focussing the principles there developed and the factual data there marshalled, and more besides, upon the specific problem of the religion of the Old Testament. While the two books necessarily overlap to an extent, there is very little actual reduplication of material.

Chapter I, "Archæology and the Ancient Near-Eastern Mind," may at first seem needlessly extended and far afield. But consideration will reveal its importance. For it seeks to establish the right of archæology to a considerably broader field than most of us are accustomed in our thinking to accord it. While the notion must be discarded that archæology in some vague yet positive way "proves the Bible," we are not for that reason to suppose that its contribution is limited to the mere unearthing of material and literary remains and to the details of philological and typological investigation. For, says Prof. Albright, archæology is in a position to speak a word concerning the history of the working of the human mind itself. That is, by controlling the written documents, the artistic representations, the architectural remains, and even the articles of daily life from the ancient past, the specialist is able to go far toward tracing the development of the æsthetic, affective and reasoning faculties of man. And, as this is true, it is also possible for him to go behind the cultic remains of ancient religion and to form certain conclusions concerning the religious mind of ancient times. That this consideration is of importance to the student of the Old Testament need hardly be stressed.

The remaining chapters turn specifically to the Old Testament religion. Chapter II will prove especially valuable to the reader for the inclusive, if not exhaustive, summary of archæological data casting light upon the Old Testament. Chapter III treats the Canaanite people, their pantheon, mythology and cult practice, as now enlightened particularly from the Ras Shamrah texts. That much in the Old Testament is clarified from this quarter will be obvious. The last two chapters are concerned with early Israel from the Conquest to David, and from Solomon through the Dual Monarchy. The nature of the nomad life before cir. the 11th century B. C. as distinct from later Beduin society, the nature of the amphictyonic society of the Judges, the long conflict of Yahweh with the Canaanite Baal, the political, economic and social background of the Solomonic state, the nature of the crisis in Israel's religion which the prophets faced, are all given excellent treatment. The compendious discussion of Solomon's temple in the light of archæology in Chapter V is particularly interesting.

While the reader will doubtless find points here and there to criticize, for the main thesis of the book and its development he can have only admiration and praise. Prof. Albright stands, as in his earlier work, for a primitive Mosaic monotheism, becoming explicit as a conscious doctrine, to be sure, only at a relatively late period, but implicit in Israel's religion from the beginning. He stresses the unique historical character of the Judæo-Christian tradition as over against the traditions of all other re-

ligions. "There can be no doubt that archæology has confirmed the substantial historicity of the Old Testament tradition. Divergencies from basic historical fact may nearly all be explained as due to the nature of oral tradition, to the vicissitudes of written transmission, and to honest, but erroneous combinations on the part of Israelite and Jewish scholars." (p. 176) Nor is Prof. Albright's attitude toward the religion of the Bible wholly objective and detached. He concludes (p. 178): "Turning from its old Near-Eastern preceptors, Israel saw a vision of God at its coming of age—a vision through which man can alone be saved from the tyranny of nature and history." J. B.

CHIASMUS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT: A Study in Formgeschichte. *By Nils Wilhelm Lund.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. 442 pages. $4.00. This book should not be associated too closely with the present-day *Formgeschichte* school of New Testament criticism. For while the author deals with the form-history of recognized units in the text, he limits himself to one particular Hebrew form, which he designates Chiasmus. This unique literary form "ordinarily consists of an orderly arrangement of ideas in the first part of a sentence or paragraph, with the same ideas repeated in inverse order in the second part." To facilitate recognition of these structures, each unit under consideration is printed, by means of a graphic device, in fine type. Thus clarity of presentation is achieved.

The author, however, cautions the reader not to draw too rigid conclusions from his work. He neither affirms nor denies that the original manuscripts offered any guides to this chiastic structure. What he does affirm is that examination of typical units of scripture reveals the wide use of a clearly recognizable mode of expression, and that this mode of expression is characteristic of the Hebrew mind. He applies this principle of structure to selected passages drawn from the Old Testament and offers many apt illustrations from the Epistles of Paul, the Gospels (especially Matthew) and the Book of the Revelation.

It is apparent that Mr. Lund's most valuable contribution is not to form-history but to art-form. He has illustrated lavishly how structure once clearly recognized (whether Chiasmus or not) is one of the primary clues to the correct understanding of a passage. It would seem that in certain cases he has pressed his case too far, as, for instance, in his treatment of Luke 4:16-21a: "Jesus in the Synagogue," (pp. 235, 236). The reader asks, why stop at 21a? The unit clearly reaches to 4:30 and is drawn from Luke's special source (L). But beyond any doubt, such cases notwithstanding, Mr. Lund's work has striking value for exegesis and textual criticism. And, furthermore, it enkindles even monotonous passages like Paul's advice concerning virgins (1 Cor. 10:25-35) with a fascinating literary charm. Here the author's work has value in oral inter-

pretation. What would likely happen to a dull, listless congregation on a sultry Sunday morning, should a minister endue such a passage (or many another like it) with new life by giving vocal recognition to the simple structural hints indicated by Mr. Lund's arrangements? Let any minister really take this hint seriously and he will multiply the effectiveness of his public reading of the Scriptures many fold. H. T. K.

THE MAKING OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. *By B. K. Rattey.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 72 pages. $ .75. This volume comes in the series of Biblical Handbooks edited by A. W. F. Blunt, D. D., Bishop of Bradford. It is a very clear, concise, popular statement of the conclusions which have been reached concerning the sources of our first three Gospels and are now held in common by the vast majority of New Testament scholars. The author is in general accord with the views set forth by Canon B. H. Streeter in his *The Four Gospels.* He gives a sane estimate of the more modern school of Form Criticism, believing that it can make some contribution to our understanding of a very early stage in the formation of the Gospel tradition but that it can by no means solve all the problems connected with the study of Gospel origins. We commend this volume as an excellent handbook for the lay reader. D. W. R.

JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. *By A. L. Olmstead.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 317 pages. $2.75. In reading any Life of Jesus one is immediately interested in the author's qualifications and his basic viewpoints, for these will determine the character of his interpretation. Dr. Olmstead is Professor of Oriental History at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and is an authority on the history of Assyria, Syria and Palestine. From personal observation he is also well acquainted with the geography and life in Palestine today. He is therefore well qualified to paint a picture of Jesus against its historical setting, and he has a gift of description and writes in a clear, interesting style. The book is written for the average reader and does not therefore argue all of the positions taken. Excellent bibliographical notes, however, will enable the student to find further information on the questions at issue.

As to view-points, the author is convinced that Jesus must be understood against his Aramaic background. Jesus taught and thought in Aramaic, and his sayings must be understood in the light of the Aramaic. He was acquainted with non-canonical Aramaic literature from which he drew suggestions for many of his sayings and illustrations. He may have understood a little Greek, but he would have used it with difficulty. As to the sources for this Life, the author believes that the Apostle John is the source of the Fourth Gospel and that the narrative parts of that Gospel are of high historic value, (the "sermons" are later interpolations.) The Perean Ministry of Luke is also of great value, and the author makes large

use of this material, for the Synoptics give a later and modified picture of Jesus. He believes that Jesus was a man of about 50 when he started His public ministry (John 8:57). From tables based on Babylonia calculations which the Jews used for a basis for their calendar, the author is convinced that we may now determine with exactness the length of Jesus' ministry. He was baptised about Dec. 1, 28 A. D., and was crucified on April 7, 30 A. D., a ministry of 475 days. (pp. 279-281). He accepts John's date of the cleansing of the Temple and of the last supper but has nothing to say about John's passover of 6:4! The author is somewhat free in the handling of his material, e. g., he puts the mission of the Seventy before the calling of the Twelve. He also rejects whatever does not suit his view of Jesus, e. g., he accepts as historical the conversation with the Samaritan woman (John 4) up to verse 25 but rejects Jesus' reply (v. 26) as a later interpolation. He is sure that Jesus' "Woes" were spoken against the *Sadducee* scribes and not the Pharisees, the word "Pharisee" being a later interpolation.

Who was Jesus? The author believes that He was a prophet of God from Nazareth, (but he was not of the line of David; that is a later interpolation). Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah, and the "Triumphal Entry" is misnamed. "Jesus would have none of this demonstration. Having found a young ass, he seated himself upon it in token of humility" (p. 210). He worked miracles. The author raised the question of the modern acceptance of miracles (pp. 155ff.), but as a historian he seemingly relates without question the feeding of the 5,000, the raising of Lazarus and the resurrection of Jesus. The Virgin birth is not even mentioned. Who is Jesus? Is he the Living Lord? The author does not make his view plain. After having accepted the resurrection of Jesus as a fact, the only use he seems to make of it is that the Jewish disciples became convinced that Jesus was still alive and therefore they continued as a Jewish sect till about 70 A. D., looking for the return of the Jewish Messiah. This sect ultimately died out and their Aramaic gospels perished with them. The spread of Christianity was due to the Hellenists, especially Paul, who preached freedom from the Jewish law and Jesus as Lord. What the author does not make plain is what part the Living Jesus played in the life of the early Church. Was Paul correct in calling the Prophet of Galilee "Lord" or was He only a Prophet?

This book is of interest and value because of the large use it makes of the Aramaic background and because it challenges the usual "liberal" view of the sources and character of Jesus. But it is too subjective in its handling of the material to be the last word on "Jesus in the light of history."

J. E. B.

PFN PICTURES OF PASSION WEEK. *By Fred B. Wyand.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 117 pages. $1.00. The pastor

of the First Methodist Church, Williamson, W. Va., has gathered here day by day studies of the Passion Week. They are not so much interpretations or arguments from the facts as they are vivid, living presentation of the facts themselves. The book is marked by good research, splendid imagination and clear writing. The author gathers facts about the ceremonials which provided the background for those events, and presents them vividly. Good reading for any time and especially good to provide a mood for preaching in Lent. Laymen should find it especially interesting in painting the whole picture of those days. L. I. S.

THE BASIS OF THE MILLENNIAL FAITH. *By Floyd E. Hamilton.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich. 160 pages. $1.00. This is the best presentation I have seen of the Amillennial as over against the Premillennial or Dispensational belief in the reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years. The author has been for years a missionary in Korea and has been closely associated with those holding the Premillennial view. He understands their arguments and he presents his counter-arguments strongly and clearly, but sympathetically. He hopes that he may win some of his Premillennial friends to a truer view of the Bible,—the Bible they love and accept as their authority. He centers his attention on whether Christ is now reigning and the "millennial kingdom" is now in progress, (the Amillennial view), or whether we are to look for a future reign of Christ on the earth for a thousand years, (the Premillennial view). He supports the Amillennial view by discussing the chief New Testament passages bearing on it. He argues that the words of Christ in Matt. 22:30 necessitate the belief in the transformation of *all* the saved at His Coming; that the parable of the Tares, and the judgment scene of Matt. 25, (which he discusses at some length), teach that *all* the wicked will be sent to their eternal destiny at Christ's Coming; so he concludes there will be no earthly people to enter the earthly "kingdom" with unregenerate hearts to be "ruled with a rod of iron" and eventually to revolt against Christ. He shows further that the Amillennial view is also in accord with the other New Testament passages and also best explains Revelation 20. The author, of course, has not been able to take up all the passages in detail or to discuss all the Dispensational teaching. But he has presented a strong line of argument based on the New Testament which should be convincing to those who hold that the New Testament is the key to the Old. Of course, those who follow Dr. Scofield will be guided as to God's final plans by Moses and the Prophets rather than by Christ and the Apostles, and may not be convinced. J. E. B.

DOES THE BIBLE SANCTION WAR? Why I Am Not A Pacifist. Harold Snider. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 158 pages. $1.00. We are sure that a book on this subject written from the point

of view of conservative scholarship and Reformed Theology is sorely needed. John F. Kennedy, in his *Why England Slept,* makes Pacifism one cause of the unpreparedness of Great Britain. Many of us will agree with Mr. Snider that Pacifism in America had much to do with our unpreparedness. And we will agree with much that he says. Especially well written are the chapters, "Thou Shalt not Commit Murder" and "All War is Not Sin." But the book is marred for many of us, who will heartily agree with its main conclusions, by its extreme premillennial and ultra-dispensational bias. When we are told that "the church has no place in moral reform" and that "the Sermon on the Mount as no application to our day," we realize that we must look further for a spokesman to present the arguments against a movement that had many more adherents before Pearl Harbor than it has today. R. A. L., Jr.

THE BIBLE'S SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS. *By Rev. Carey L. Daniel.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 155 pages. $1.00. A book that will be found useful in dealing with those who suppose the Bible to be full of discrepancies and contradictions. The author has selected one hundred and one of those he considers more important, grouping them under the heads of doctrine, history and prophecy. His discussion is brief, to the point and generally clarifying. The section dealing with matters of doctrine is especially practical, taking up a number of vital questions concerning Christian faith and life. There are errors of proof reading which the author says will be corrected in future printings, and in particular he wishes to disclaim a statement on page 16 that Paul's effort at Athens was to "impress" instead of (as he intended to say) "to appeal to the Athenian intelligentsia." W. T. W.

HOW SHALL WE ESCAPE? *Ten evangelistic sermons compiled by Dr. J. W. Stabler.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 118 pages. $1.00. The compiler is an optometrist, a layman with an ardent evangelistic spirit and strong conviction as to the usefulness of the printed page in evangelism. Chosen apparently for appeal to the non-Christian or the nominal Christian, these sermons by pastors, evangelists, a college president (a minister) and a layman not only vary greatly in style and length but also in quality. Some are good, most are fair, several are indifferent. W. T. W.

SIMPLE TALKS ON THE TABERNACLE. *By D. H. Dolman, M. A., D. D.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 228 pages. $1.50. Characterized by the spiritual insight and power that make his earlier book, *Simple Talks on the Holy Spirit,* one of the best brief studies of the Scriptural teaching on the practical side of that subject. The author avoids the fanciful and far-fetched, which too often mars expositions of the typical

portions of Scripture, and lets Scripture be its own interpreter in bringing out the abiding gospel truths illustrated in the construction of the Tabernacle. The chapters of the book were originally expository talks given at the midweek service. Undoubtedly this service would be much better attended if it offered the kind of spiritual instruction and nourishment that abounds in this book. W. T. W.

II. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

PATTERNS OF THE MIND. *By Lynn Harold Hough.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 135 pages. $1.50. The purpose of this book is to emphasize the need of clear and vigorous thinking and of an adequate intellectual pattern, or system of truth, held with conviction. Dr. Hough shows the danger in submitting one's life to the guidance of impulse, emotion, prejudice, convention, without having the stability which a coherent body of thought about life would give. He considers those who approach life with a false pattern or an incomplete pattern. The last chapter—which seems rather short in relation to the remainder of the book—presents the Christian pattern, the view of God and man and the world inherent in the Christian faith and centering in Christ's incarnation, cross, resurrection and judgment. · In the course of his criticism of present-day mental attitudes the author touches on some important themes of philosophy and religion. The book is written in a scholarly style. Dr. Hough is Dean of Drew Theological Seminary. J. D.

THE PROBLEM OF CHOICE. *By William Henry Roberts.* Ginn and Company, New York. 409 pages. $2.50. This is one of the best of the semi-popular Ethics texts for undergraduates to appear in a number of years. As such it lacks the rigor of a systematic treatise on moral philosophy. The contemporary scene is emphasized but skilful summaries of classical theories and historic codes are presented. The current trend in ethics is reflected in four chapters on the values of life, biological, social and spiritual, and their true evaluation. The author's outlook is an eclectic one, combining an altruistic hedonism of the John Stuart Mill type with idealistic perfectionism and Christianity. The discussion of sex, marriage and the family is finely handled; that on economic justice is unusually provocative but frankly biased towards a mild socialism. The final chapter is regrettably tentative but is thoroughly in the spirit of Brunner's dictum: "Only ethical religion is truly religious and only religious ethics is truly ethical." The author acknowledges the influence of W. M. Urban and other members of the Yale faculty. The social idealism of John Dewey is also manifest. A commendable feature is the inclusion of chapters on the psychology of choice and of moral development, but this section overstresses Freud and behaviorism and rather strangely omits the Hartshorne

and May character inquiry and the now important trait-psychology. One could wish that the distinctively Christian ethics of able contemporary thinkers like Berdyaev, Brunner and Reinhold Niebuhr had been given a place. The fine spirit of realistic candor and unselfish idealism in which Dr. Roberts writes and his clear, glowing style impart lasting value to the book. D. M. A.

WHAT MAN CAN MAKE OF MAN. *By William Ernest Hocking.* Harper and Brothers, New York and London. 62 pages. $1.00. This small volume is the expansion of an article recently published in *Fortune.* It is refreshing to note how much Dr. Hocking can say in a few words on such subjects as constitute the table of contents: How Man Makes Himself; Modernity Ushers Itself Out; What Is Western Civilization and How Did It Happen?; Science and the Dismissal of Value; Rights and Their Counterfeits; Re-enter the Human Soul; and The Coming Man. Dr. Hocking shows the result of dropping God out of the universe. He concludes that the truth which will heal our present wounds is that of the *existence of God.* Had he gone a step further and shown Christ as the manifestation of God, this would be one of the greatest small books of our day. It should be of special interest to persons dealing with perplexed college students. B. R. L., Jr.

THIS SEED OF FAITH. *By Henry M. Battenhouse.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 192 pages. $1.50. This is a book about the Christian faith—about the Incarnation and the Atonement and the Sermon on the Mount and the Kingdom of God and similar topics. It is, evidently, written by a man with a very active and well-furnished mind. If there were in it a more obvious continuity, a clearer progress of thought, the discussion as a whole would make a stronger impression. As it is, the reader enjoys the fine literary flavor of the book but he hardly knows where he is being led. For those who like a somewhat rhetorical treatment—suffused with Christian sentiment, and not without a certain brilliance—of some of the great themes of our faith, this is an excellent book. Dr. Battenhouse is a Methodist minister who, after serving pastorates in several cities is now Professor of English Literature in Albion College. J. D.

FAITH UNDER FIRE. *By Michael Coleman.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 160 pages. $1.50. This book might be described as a kind of primer in the Christian faith. It is not a book for children but rather for skeptics, doubters and honest gropers after a more excellent way. The author is the acting vicar of All Hallows, a small, historic Anglican church near the Tower of London. *Faith Under Fire,* it seems, grew out of his personal contacts with the men and women of the Civilian Defense service stationed on Tower Hill. He saw them in air-raid shelters, in mess halls

and under many other informal circumstances where common danger bred deeper intimacy. Night after night, on such occasions, the vicar talked about religion. The men were full of questions. They came out with them freely, often bluntly. Sometimes they heckled the vicar. But with skill and patience he went on talking about God, about sin, prayer, the Bible, the creeds, the Church and its sacraments. In this book the vicar writes down some of the things he talked about when both he and his faith were "under fire." His point of view is for the most part high-Anglican, his spirit mellow and gracious, his style informal and rambling. No one could call the book a great one, but one can picture it affording genuine spiritual help to many puzzled people whose faith in these confusing days is being strained and tested. J. H. M., Jr.

THE CONTEMPORARY CHRIST. *By W. A. Smart.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 154 pages. $1.50. The author of this book was educated at Vanderbilt, Union Seminary, New York, and Chicago University. He writes from an extremely liberal point of view. He repudiates our most cherished beliefs. To him the Bible is not divinely inspired, it is not even reliable, it is filled with contradictions and inaccuracies. To him, Jesus is not God in heaven, as He was worshipped by the early Church, but a rather vague figure in history, the exact truth concerning whom it is difficult to know. He did not even reach His own ideal of goodness. Dr. Smart thinks that the portrait of Jesus as very God of very God which was drawn of Him by the early Church would not have been recognized by Christ. We think He would not recognize the portrait drawn by Dr. Smart! The author's *Contemporary Christ* is certainly not our Christ! While we cannot agree with the author's conclusions, we are interested in certain statements. It is interesting to note that so liberal a scholar recognizes that *Jesus' religion is God-centered;* that the *individual is of supreme value;* that *while no one believes in hell its loss is serious and we need some modern substitute for it;* that *while the modern mind cannot accept the traditional theory of the atonement salvation is some way connected with the death of Christ;* that *Christianity is a religion of rescue not a religion of achievement;* and that *man is utterly inadequate to save himself and desperately needs superhuman aid.* To our way of thinking, evangelical Christianity comes nearer to fitting these facts than the nebulous, complicated liberalism of this distinguished professor of Biblical Theology. R. A. L., Jr.

III. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

THE CHALLENGE OF THE GREEK. *By T. R. Glover.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 241 pages. $2.75. This is not a religious book but a group of essays on classical, mainly Greek, subjects, written by an eminent English and Canadian scholar. The author admits in his preface

that the book is a kind of autobiography. "Here are the things that have made the life—the great Classics, the great lake and river by which I lived, the Dominion; interwoven are memories of friends and colleagues, outlooks, fancies, impressions, and impulses of deeper birth." The essays are written in a delightful style, with much humor, with the highest standards of scholarship. Anyone who has a fondness for Greek and Latin may expect to find much real pleasure and profit in reading about such things as the Athenian food problems, farm life in Greece, the merits and demerits of iced water, fairy tales, Homer and his readers, and so on. S. A. C.

FOUNTAINHEADS OF FREEDOM. The Growth of the Democratic Idea. *By Irwin Edman, with the Collaboration of Herbert W. Schneider.* Reynal and Hitchcock, New York. 576 pages. $3.75. Two well-known scholars collaborate in this book to trace the development of the idea of freedom from the Hebrew prophets and the Greek historians and philosophers to Walt Whitman and Karl Marx, Thomas Masaryk and John Dewey. In 200 pages Professor Edman traces the growth of the Democratic idea, the enrichment of its content, the emergence of its constituent elements and the recognition of its various problems, from the earliest days to the present. In the rest of the book Dr. Schneider has selected the writings of the more important spokesmen for freedom and democracy. The Old Testament is represented, and so is the New; John Calvin is given his proper place; the Huguenots are represented with the *Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos.* The book is so arranged that one can turn immediately from one section to the other, from comment to text, or else follow comment then text in order. As the publishers state, this book "is at once an exciting panorama of the past, and a challenge to free men to meet the contemporary assults on their birthright." There is no other book which meets the same need. E. T. T.

THE CHRIST OF THE AGES. *By Rev. Frank G. Beardsley.* American Tract Society, New York. 336 pages. $1.50. Frank G. Beardsley, a competent historian and a thorough evangelical, has given us a popular account of the spread of Christianity from the beginning down to the present time and of its effects upon the individual, the home, society and the state. "The providences of history," the author concludes, "are too numerous and too striking to be attributed to chance or accident, or to be regarded as mere coincidences. Any attempt therefore to explain the progress of Christianity in the world upon the basis of naturalism and apart from those interventions of divine providence is not only illogical but unscientific, since it overlooks an important array of facts which must be neither ignored nor disregarded." "The logic of history leads to a single conclusion: Christianity must be from God and its Author must be divine." Once more the American Tract Society offers us a good book, at a remarkable low price. E. T. T.

THE HUGUENOTS—Fighters for God and Human Freedom. *By Otto Zoff.* L. B. Fischer, New York. 340 pages. $3.50. Otto Zoff is a Czech, well known abroad for his writings in the various fields of history, drama and the arts. He left Germany in 1935 because of his opposition to Adolf Hitler, going first to Italy and then to France. He arrived on this side of the Atlantic in March, 1941. His history of the Huguenots is fascinating reading from the first page to the last, an excellent account of a great people, excellent as history, excellent as literature. According to the publishers, Otto Zoff is a Catholic. It is hard to believe, for there is no Catholic apologetics here but, instead, a clear recognition of the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church and of the selfishness and the cruelty of the leading Catholic figures in the great and tragic drama. On the other hand there is a great admiration for the Huguenots, fighters for God and human freedom.

The author writes mostly the political history of the Huguenots, from the beginning down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His skill in characterization, his vivid descriptions and his realistic portraits, added to the fact that he has a truly great story to tell, make this an outstanding book, one which should appeal to all Presbyterians, all descendants of the Huguenots, all lovers of history and all who admire fighters for God and human freedom. E. T. T.

THE HISTORY OF QUAKERISM. *By Elbert Russell.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 586 pages. $3.00. The considerable literature which has appeared in recent years on various phases of Quakerism reveals a widespread and growing interest in this small Christian body, which still has its distinctive Christian witness to bear. Still lacking, however, has been a good one-volume history bringing the story of the Quakers up to the present time. That need has now been met by Elbert Russell, Dean Emeritus and Professor of Biblical Interpretation at Duke University. It is good history, readable, despite the large amount of detail, and it will answer most all the questions that any one would like to know about the Quakers.

Dean Russell divides the history of the Quakers into three periods: I. The Rise of the Society, 1647-1691, when it appeared as a radical movement on the Protestant Left; II. The Age of Quietism, 1691-1827, when the Society isolated itself from the world and ceased to grow; III. The Modern Revival and Reconstruction from 1827 to the present. During this period the Quakers have been strongly influenced by various movements within Protestantism as a whole. Evangelicalism and more recently liberalism have been the most important factors, but other movements have left their mark, even Holiness and Premillenialism.

The author believes that a new stage of Quaker history set in after the First World War. Certainly it is the relief and reconstruction work in

which they have since engaged which has won for them the admiration and respect of all men of good will. E. T. T.

AND DOWN THE DAYS. *By John Louis Bonn, S. J.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 306 pages. $2.50. This is an interesting and well written story. It reads like a novel but it claims to give the essential facts in the life of Elsa St. John Eckel: her early years in New England; her remarkable experiences at the court of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie, where she exerted great influence and amassed a fortune; her conversion to the Roman Catholic faith; her return to Amenia, New York, where she built a church; and her progress in the Catholic type of piety. While the book seeks to present the Roman Catholic religion in the best light, and so has an apologetic purpose, it is in itself a dramatic story of an unusual career. The title is taken from a line in Francis Thompson's Hound of Heaven: "I fled him, down the nights and down the days." J. D.

RELIGION IN COLONIAL AMERICA. *By William Warren Sweet.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 367 pages. $3.00. Dr. William Warren Sweet, who has specialized in American Church History and probably knows more about the subject than any man in the country, gives us here the first of a series of three volumes designed to cover the history of the Church in America. No one interested in religion in Colonial America should miss the present volume, which is based on the most recent scholarship and yet at the same time is thoroughly readable. One understands his own denominational history only when he sees it in perspective, in relation with other denominations. This volume offers that perspective. Misleading claims are sometimes set forth by denominationalists, notably in recent years by Roman Catholics. These claims are effectually disposed of in the present volume. Some hoary traditions have no solid basis in fact. These traditions are corrected by the author in the book now before us. The book is strongest in the realm of the Church's organization and growth, weakest in its account of the Church's inner life. But it is far and away the best volume in the field and probably will be for a long time to come. E. T. T.

THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING IN CONNECTICUT. *By Charles Roy Keller.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 275 pages. $3.00. The Second Great Awakening, or the Great Revival as it is sometimes called, is the most significant religious event in American religious history after the Revolution and before the Civil War. It halted a disastrous decline in religious interest, checked infidelity and inaugurated a period of growth unsurpassed in all the history of the Church. It led to the organization of our benevolent work along lines that continue to the present day and gave a powerful impetus toward reform. Charles Roy Keller traces the

progress of the Revival and its fruits in Connecticut, a state which influenced our religious development as much as any other in this important period of our history. The book is based upon a careful study of the sources, and presents the history of the great Revival in Connecticut in considerable detail, yet in clear, readable form. It is a worthy addition to the Yale Historical Publications. E. T. T.

THE GUILT OF THE GERMAN ARMY. *By Hans Ernest Fried.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 426 pages. $3.50. The author of this book left Austria, his native land, in 1938, after its occupation by Hitler and after he had ample occasion to study Fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Central Europe. He is now Research Associate in the Graduate Faculty at the New School for Social Research in New York. He writes here to demonstrate from well-documented sources that the ideals of National Socialism are the ideals of Germany's professional soldiers, held from the days of the First World War to the present. As the author points out: "To say that National Socialism is the latest form of German militarism and that the two are inseparable because they are one and the same thing points not only to the past, but to the future as well." It means that the United Nations must seek to destroy not only Hitler but also German militarism; that when the war is ended the professional military class in Germany must be removed not only from military activity but also from social and economic prominence.

This is a valuable book for one who wishes to understand Nazi Germany or to think realistically about the Peace. E. T. T.

CHRISTIAN EUROPE TODAY. *By Adolph Keller.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 310 pages. $3.00. This is an up-to-the-minute report on religious conditions in Europe by one who is recognized as the leading authority on the condition of the Churches on the Continent. Dr. Keller, a citizen of Switzerland, is one of the great religious statesmen of our day and has been in intimate touch with Christians in all parts of Europe. He says, "This is a dark book, and yet a book of hope, it grew out of the bleak background of Europe. But the world, as a whole, has become darker today. Has not God Himself chosen darkness as His dwelling place?" The book is divided into five parts: The Tragic Continent and its Conflicting Forces; Church and State on the Continent; Churches under the Cross; The Church Answers with Faith; and A Vision of Reconstruction. The chapters of the first three parts paint the dark picture: organized Christianity facing destruction, and individual Christians in the midst of turmoil and war persecuted for Christ's sake, starving and dying, feeling themselves in the hands of demonic forces, and God Himself forsaking them! The last two parts give rays of hope. The Churches may be destroyed but there is growing up a new fellowship of suffering,—Chris-

tians finding new fellowship in secret or unorganized groups and individual Christians trusting God although they cannot understand Him and witnessing to their loyalty to Christ. The hope of the future lies in this indestructible Christian "Church" and in the sympathetic help we other Christians, especially we in America, can give.

This is a book that American Christians, in our placid, conventional, easy Christian life, should read. It may suggest what may lie ahead of us unless we also repent. It will remind us that Christianity is the way of the Cross. It should surely make us more sympathetic and understanding as we view the plight of our brethren in Europe and more open-hearted to their desperate need of help. J. E. B.

BY THIS SIGN CONQUER. *By G. Bromley Oxham.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 214 pages. $1.75. The sub-title of this work is "A Study in Contemporary Crucifixion and Crusade." The author's thesis is that humanity today is passing through a period of crucifixion. He lists the answers given as to the underlying cause of this "hour of crucifixion" and records his own conviction that the contemporary crucifixion is but the prelude to a great crusade. The objective of the coming crusade is the establishment of the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God, however, is denuded of its supernatural character and defined in terms of a co-operative social order. To this reviewer the author's dream of the coming order, the objective of the Christian crusade, is but another human Utopia. The book is challenging in thought, clear in expression and intensely interesting in its presentation of the obstacles to the crusade, the individual and the crusade, and the Leader of the crusade. The underlying view of the nature of God's Kingdom is not in harmony with "Biblical realism"; and one feels that the "crusaders summoned by the Christ" should be more than missionaries "seeking to share the message and the method of Jesus with all, and thereby lift mankind from humanity to divinity." D. W. R.

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES. *By F. E. Mayer.* Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. 52 pages. Paper, 25c. In ten brief, well-documented chapters the Professor of Theology in Concordia Seminary (Lutheran) gives a critical examination of the teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses, pointing out their anti-Christian nature. It is worth reading. J. E. B.

MINISTERIAL DIRECTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U. S., 1861-1941. *Compiled by Rev. E. C. Scott, D. D., Stated Clerk of the General Assembly.* Published by Order of the General Assembly. 826 pages. $3.50. This book, a monument of careful, painstaking scholarship, (and as Dr. Diehl has put it, of bull-dog tenacity), contains a short biographical sketch of every minister who has served the Presbyterian Church in the United

States from 1861 to the present time. No doubt some errors will come to light, (it would be a miracle otherwise), but one can be certain that they will be few and far between. Here is an indispensable reference book for ministers in our Church or for agencies or institutions interested in its ministers. The book is handsomely bound and printed, a credit to our Stated Clerk, who has toiled on it for many years, and a credit also to the Church. Dr. Scott has earned the gratitude of the entire Church for the work that he has done. The book may be secured from the office of the Stated Clerk, 1120 Liberty Bank Building, Dallas, Texas. E. T. T.

RIM OF THE CARIBBEAN. *By Carol McAfee Morgan.* Friendship Press, New York. 176 pages. $1.00. This interesting and informative book on the West Indies and Central America is written by one who is thoroughly at home with the people and the lands of Latin America. The book is an account of the author's journeyings and the Christian missionary enterprise, with its churches, schools, hospitals and other forms of service, all of which are helping to bring in a new and better era for our neighbors around the Caribbean area. It is an excellent supplement to the regular mission study text-book for the current year. D. W. R.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN YOUR CHURCH. *By Nevin C. Harner and David D. Baker.* The Friendship Press, New York. 185 pages. $1.00. The authors define missionary education as being "the sum of all our efforts to cultivate in children, young people, and adults a Christlike concern for people of every class, race, and nation; an intimate knowledge of how the Christian fellowship is being extended both at home and abroad; and a hearty participation in all endeavors to enlarge this fellowship of Christian faith and brotherhood until it covers the earth." The aim of the book is to show that it is the responsibility of every congregation of Christian peope to plan and put into effect a program of missionary education which will permeate everything the church teaches and does. Tested methods are given for teachers in all grades and with all groups. D. W. R.

WHILE IT IS DAY. *By Samuel L. Joekel.* The John Knox Press, Richmond, Va. 135 pages. $.25 (paper). In the five very informative and very interesting chapters of this book Dr. Joekel emphasizes the present urgent need for a new and compelling vision of God, of the world as it is today at our own doors, of self consecrated to Christian service; and for hearing the voice of God as He speaks to us in the desperate crises of contemporary history. The times in which we live make us afaid and yet they are times in which God may be glorified. In the mission of the Church, under the providence of God, the strategic center is now on the home front. Ours is a day of peril, but it is also a day of great opportunity for the Church and of great expectancy on the part of a needy, waiting people.

Throughout the whole of our Church's territory, in all of its population areas, fields are white and the potential harvest of God is going to waste and is in danger of being lost. We have the spiritual and the material resources and we know the methods for carrying out Christ's commission and fulfilling the Church's function as an evangelizing missionary agency. This is our day of opportunity and of challenge. To accept the challenge and take advantage of the opportunity will mean walking in the way of service, of sacrifice, and of renewed devotion to God's will.

This is only a rough outline of the central thought underlying this year's study book in Home Missions. With a wealth of information, a keen spiritual insight, and an understanding of the times in which we live, the author relates the mission of the Church to the Word of God and makes clear the will of God for the Church and for the individual Christian. One cannot read this book and not be burdened with a sense of individual and corporate responsibility in these days of crisis. "Today there is life for the Church if it is evangelistic: the removal of the candlestick if it is not. There is life and future for the denomination that we love if we extend our borders and multiply our churches and chapels: a slow death if we miss our opportunities." This fact Dr. Joekel makes clear and compelling; and it is our prayer that his book will be widely read. D. W. R.

THE NEW LIGHTS (The Christian Church). *By John Vant Stephens.* Privately printed. 28 pages. Another informing and attractive brochure from the pen of a former member of the faculties of Lebanon and Lane Theological Seminaries and issued from Dr. Stephens' office in the Lane Seminary Building, Cincinnati, O. J. G. McA.

IV. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

A CHRISTIAN BASIS FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD. A Commentary On The Ten Peace Points by Ten English Churchmen. Morehouse-Gorham, New York. 123 pages. $1.00. The ten peace points discussed by the book are the five suggested by Pope Pius and five suggested by the Oxford World Conference in 1937. After a preface by the Bishop of Carlisle and an introduction by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the ten peace points are presented and discussed as follows: (1) The Rights of Nations, by R. R. Stokes, Roman Catholic labor M. P. and business man; (2) Disarmament, by Canon Baker of York; (3) International Organization, by Kenneth Ingram, author and barrister; (4) Minorities, by Sidney Dark, journalist; (5) The Law of God, by Barbara Ward, honorary secretary of the Roman Catholic society, the Sword of The Spirit; (6) Possessions, by Letitia Fairfield, lawyer and medical officer of the R. A. F.; (7) Education, by A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol; (8) The Family, by John A. Hughes, priest of the Church of England and member of the Society of Friends;

(9) Vocation In Work, by Dorothy L. Sayers, author of religious plays and detective fiction; (10) International Resources, by Margaret Bondfield, J. P. and LL. D. This is required reading for all those getting ready to help build the post-war world. R. C. L.

CHRISTIANITY COMMUNISM AND THE IDEAL SOCIETY. *By James Feibleman.* W. W. Norton and Company, New York. 419 pages. $4.00. It is hard to do justice to a book like this in a short review. There are passages in it that merit high praise for their incisive and precise statement. For example: "This nominalistic theory which is meant to produce a psychology without the employment of epiphenominal minds ends by throwing itself entirely upon subjective interpretation, since the behaviour of the individual turns out to mean whatever the observing behaviourist thinks it means." And "the core of the doctrine of pragmatism is the definition of truth as that which works. . . . The only criterion for workability is the judgment of the knowing subject: that which works is that which he thinks works." To my mind these are lethal thrusts into the very vitals of pragmatism in philosophy and behaviourism in psychology.

But the fatal defects of this book constitute what seems to me an indefensible thesis. Christianity in the eyes of the author is a declining world system, Communism the rapidly rising one. "Both are found to contain valid elements worth saving for an ideal, but neither proves to be sufficiently wide. Christianity neglects actuality; Communism neglects the logical order." This belief of the author that Christianity is dying recurs over and over throughout the book. "The triumphal period" of Christianity is past, that of Communism is yet to come. Yet Communism is just as distasteful as Christianity. The hope of the world, as the author visions it, lies in a kind of electicism system which he calls the "unlimited community" constructed out of selected elements from both Christianity and Communism. "The man in the modern world for the most part does not believe in Christ any longer, and he is not yet able to believe Marx . . . Christianity has been tried and lacks the possibilities of a first fine careless rapture." And yet the author admits by implication that Christ is not dead. "The person of Jesus Christ is the legendary symbol of the principle of reason. He appeared in the historical order only to affirm the existence of the logical order. Thus Christ and the unlimited community together stand for the ideal of rationality." While claiming only legendary existence for Jesus, he posits a reality out of all harmony with what is ordinarily associated with this term "legendary."

In philosophy the author is a disciple of C. S. Pierce and hence a pronounced antinominalist. His philosophical position is illustrated by his repeated assertion that society is not a fictional convention but a reality as clear-cut and dynamic as atomic individuals which compose it. Man exists for the sake of society, which in turn exists for the sake of the next higher value, and so on until infinite value is reached. When the

stage of the unlimited community is reached, then, he says, the shift in emphasis is effected by man "worshiping the Unlimited Community" instead of God. This is very near to Humanism.

No reader of the REVIEW will endorse this book and many who may read it will fear to suggest it to any Presbyterian. And yet, tucked away in the folds of an impossible thesis, one may discover many a fine thought and many a mighty defense against certain popular but false theories.

F. H.

MOTIVES FOR CHRISTIAN LIVING. *By William P. King.* Harper and Brothers. New York. 202 pages. $1.00. A columnist who was formerly a sports writer was recently greatly impressed with the new book by the versatile Dr. King. He gave over his column to the praise of the book and what it meant to him. Which shows that the book has a general appeal to the public as well as possessing great value for the minister and Christian workers in all capacities. Because it is interspersed with saving humor the book will prove to be one of the few that may reach the unsaved person with a message and a motive for changing his way of living. But chiefly the book is a godsend to the person who is struggling to bridge the gap between knowledge and action. Was it Shakespeare who spoke of the fact that "if to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches and poor men's cottages princes' palaces"? This book is one that will help us to keep our practice of the Christian religion more in line with our preaching. It consists of two sections: part one, the ethical ideals of Christianityy, and part two, motive power for the good life. The author's chapter on "The Motive of Reward" easily makes the book worth it's price.

R. C. L.

THE PASTOR'S LEGAL ADVISOR. *By Norton F. Brand and Verner M. Ingram.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 237 pages. $2.00. As the publishers state, this book is a simple, authoritative manual of law for the busy minister and for the layman who is concerned with Church problems and properties. Here both will find the information they need—from the legal standpoint—regarding religious liberty, church property, marriage, wills and a host of other subjects with which they are constantly concerned. This is a book which ministers need and which they would be well advised to read and to have on hand for consultation. The authors are laymen, members of the bar who understand ecclesiastical as well as legal affairs.

E. T. T.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE FAMILY. *By Ernest R. Groves.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 229 pages. $2.00. In the first sentence of his preface Dr. Groves states the purpose of the book, *"Christianity and the Family* is a plea to the Protestant ministry for a more practical, understanding

interest in the family and a greater appreciation of its relation to Christianity." But he does much more than urge the minister to become interested in the family. He interprets the family in the light of Christian teaching and shows the meaning of Christianity to the family. His discussion of Christianity and sex is especially illuminating and wholesome.

In Part II the author discusses the minister's relation to the family as a domestic counselor. With remarkable understanding and revealing illustrations he deals with the principles that should guide the counselor, many of the difficulties he is sure to meet, some of the dangers he must run, and shows him how he may gain skill in the art of helping young and old married people. No man in America is better qualified to write on this subject and no book the reviewer has seen would be of such specific value to the minister who is seriously trying to give counsel to those who would make the most of their marriage, or whose marriage has fallen on evil days.

W. T. T.

THE FAMILY LIVES ITS RELIGION. *By Regina Westcott Wieman.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 236 pages. $2.00. Mrs. Wieman's view of religion, like that of her husband's, is quite liberal and is decidedly limited, as she makes it "devotion to the creative Source of all good" and thinks of God as "Creativity." But within these bounds she is stimulating and thought-provoking, helpful even to the most conservative as she presses him to a better understanding of his faith. Her knowledge of life, of the way personality develops, of the interests, activities, questions and problems that belong to the home and of the way in which old and young should live together for their mutual growth is broad and rich. This is not for those who want to learn how to raise their children by spending five minutes in reading some superficial book which recommends catch-penny devices for making children behave. But for those who are in earnest, who are willing to study and think and who are ready to take the time and put forth the effort to experiment in the family group with some of the tested ways of learning it is excellent. For parents of this type there are more good, usable, workable suggestions which get more nearly at the heart of this business of living helpfully, inspiringly, creatively with each other and with our children than in any book I have seen in a long time. The warning must be given, however, that to face her ideal of life in the home as creative interaction through which all of its members grow in their appreciation of and devotion to ever higher values is to disturb one's contentment, to make him terribly conscious of failure and ready to sit in dust and ashes. But such an attitude is the beginning of wisdom and makes improvement possible.

W. T. T.

THE CHURCH'S OPPORTUNITY IN ADULT EDUCATION. *By Edward P. Westphal.* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 209 pages. $1.25. The

fact that this book is written by the Director of Adult Education and Men's Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. for the Leadership Training Association makes the reader anticipate something worthwhile. He is not disappointed. Dr. Westphal begins with a quick view of the amazing recent development in the field of secular adult education and a call for co-operation between those working in that field and those promoting Christian adult education. This is followed naturally by a consideration of the purpose of the Church in adult education and a statement and discussion of the objectives that should be set up. The author's treatment of the way in which we grow as religious persons is illuminating, and the guidance he gives for the working out of an effective program for adults is practical and adequate.

Dr. Westphal writes with the freedom and confidence of one who has mastered his field and in language that the average adult can easily understand. His concluding study of leadership is so keen in its insights and so warm in its appeal that one will put the book down feeling that he must become a more useful servant of Christ in His Church. An excellent bibliography and suggestions for study and teaching at the close of each chapter add to the value of this book as a leadership training text.

W. T. T.

EVANGELISM IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. *By Richard L. Ownbey.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 160 pages. $.60. There is on the first page the blunt statement of the facts that constitute the challenge to the Church today and then this sharp question, "What will be the effect upon America fifty years from now if in the next generation the ratio of unevangelized youth continues?" Against the pressing need the author makes the word "evangelize" broad enough to demand not only that we should bring the individual to Christ, but that we should also make Christian those institutions and influences which affect most decidedly the life of individuals—the home, church, school, state, business. He redeems the word "evangelism" from its identification with revivalism, involves all Christians in the responsibility for engaging in this work, indicates what should be the evangelistic message and shows the way in which the work of evangelism can be built into the regular program of religious education for the different age groups in the local church. He writes with the passion of a true disciple of John Wesley. It would have been better, however, if he had left out his references to John Calvin or had set them in a fairer light. There is something lacking, too, in his treatment of sin and salvation.

W. T. T.

THE ROMANCE OF EVANGELISM. *By Roland Q. Leavell.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 95 pages. $1.00. The author is Superintendent of Evangelism under the Home Mission Board of the Southern

Baptist Church and has done an eminently fruitful work in promoting interest and activity in the cause of evangelism within his own denomination. His book comprises a series of ten addresses dealing with the type of evangelism suited to this generation, the need for spiritual revival within the Church, the kinds of evangelistic work required, conserving the results of evangelism, etc. The popular address style is retained, which detracts somewhat from the literary finish, but the addresses are all very suggestive and stimulating. D. W. R.

TEACHING RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. *By Conrad A. Hauser.* Round Table Press, New York. 300 pages. $2.00. Nearly twenty years ago Dr. Hauser broke new ground in his valuable *Latent Religious Resources in Public School Education.* His feeling then was that the public schools could not teach religion and that the most we could expect from tax-supported institutions was that the teachers would make use of opportunities afforded by the secular curriculum to arouse, or support, faith among their pupils. In this book, which is in a sense a sequel to the one just mentioned, he is so strongly aware of the growing secularization of our schools, and of the desperate need in America of the undergirding of our life by religion if morality is to be maintained and democracy is to survive, that he changes his ground somewhat. On the basis of this necessity and of the possibility of a closer fellowship among Protestants, Catholics and Jews because of the better understanding that seems to be developing, and because of their joint danger, he is hopeful that a common denominator of these faiths could be found which might be taught in our public schools without violating the principle of the separation of Church and State or being unfair to any religious group. Here he is more optimistic than the reviewer. The difficulties involved in reaching such an agreement among religious bodies and in securing co-operation between them and our educators seem to become more and more apparent to the author as he continues his discussion, until he says on page 259, "Only by a miracle can the public school take over the responsibility for religious teaching as was done in continental Europe in the days gone by. That being so, the week day church school must become the professional school of religion for the three faiths."

This is good reading for the public school leaders, as it shows so clearly the "indispensable place religion holds in the total education of the American child" if he is to be a citizen fully qualified to play his part in days like these. It makes plain, too, that teaching atheism, though dressed up in the modern, stylish (though a bit outmoded now) clothes of humanism is sectarian teaching, and illegal.

There is much here for the leaders of the Church. The story of the bitter sectarian jealousies that forced religion out of the schools and have made the public school men critical of the Church and afraid of its influence

in education is humbling and shaming reading. We must respond, too, to the author's urgent appeal to do better work in the areas in which we are already busy if there is no present possibility of putting upon the public school teacher the responsibility for teaching the simple, basic facts about religion upon which we can all agree. In the light of what the Catholics are doing through their parochial schools, and of the life and death issues that are at stake, the author makes a plea for advancing the work of the week day church schools, for multiplying and improving the vacation church schools and for strengthening the Sunday church school by lengthening its sessions, enriching its curriculum and lifting its teaching to a better level.

W. T. T.

GETTING DOWN TO CASES. *By Charles T. Holman.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 207 pages. $2.00. This is the third of Dr. Holman's books dealing with the minister and his relation to mental health. It should be read first; but it could not have been written first, because there is in it a simplicity and clearness based on knowledge and experience that can come only as one studies, and meditates, and lives much through a number of years. It is just the book for those who wish to begin the study of the kind of people the pastor will meet and the type of techniques he must use in the difficult yet necessary and fascinating work of counseling. There is in it little that is new for those who have read at all widely in this field, but the approach is fresh and the presentation of a number of concrete cases of those who for one cause or another have found it hard to adjust themselves to the realities of life make it interesting and helpful reading.

W. T. T.

HALLOW THE HOME. *By Norman B. Harrison.* The Harrison Service, Minneapolis. 64 pages. $.25. An inexpensive gift book for parents written by a Bible teacher who is also a father. He makes no attempt to instruct in physiology or psychology but he says some very direct, sensible and definite things to fathers and mothers about the way in which they can live happily with each other and bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

W. T. T.

A LETTER TO MY SON. *By a Soldier's Mother.* E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. 32 pages. $.50. This is a real letter straight from the brave, suffering heart of a mother to her soldier son over seas. It is both wise and spiritual, written to warn him of some of the devastating experiences he must face and to create in him faith and hope and courage in a world which makes these qualities so difficult to achieve yet so necessary. She is sure, out of her own experience, that a soul fixed on God, living for the things of the spirit, need not be afraid of what may happen to him or to the civilization of which he is a part. But the letter lacks much, as it makes no references to the Bible, has no word about Christ

and builds its faith in immortality, in part, at least, on having "heard the dead speak." There is a place in it for mother's picture and an envelope for mailing. W. T. T.

KEEPING YOUR CHURCH IN THE NEWS. *By Austin Brodie.* Fleming H. Revell Company New York. 125 pages. $1.00. Where is the minister or layman who when called upon to go to the newspaper with a write-up of some church activity hasn't longed for the technique for adequate presentation of his "story"? Well may he turn to this volume as a definite guide to right publicity. The publishers announce it as volume one in a series of church publicity handbooks. But this present book, which is complete in itself for the field it covers, is a neat presentation of the basic needs for keeping your church in the news, including how to write a story and get it into the newspaper, how to maintain friendly relations with the press and plan a complete year-round publicity program. How to get on the front page with religious news and what to do about personal publicity are two of the things that bother many church leaders. The author's chapters dealing with these and other matters, such as pictures and the mechanics of newspaper writing, are complete and definite. With so much other required reading on the principles and the practice of the ministry of the gospel, this may well be listed for use in the ministry of telling the Story of the Gospel through the press. R. C. L.

ALONG THE HIGHWAY OF PRAYER. *By Mrs. A. T. (Ella Broadus) Robertson.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 73 pages. $.35 (paper). This delightful and most helpful little book by the author of *The Ministry of Women, Half A Century* and *These Things Remain* is a clear presentation of the various types of prayer in the Bible. Included in the author's outline are some prayers in war times, prayers of petition, intercession and thanksgiving. One helpful section deals with answered and unanswered prayers. After reading the new book on prayer by Doctor Buttrick, the reviewer has found this practical demonstration of prayer by Mrs. Robertson a great aid in the definite practice of the principles and the rules of prayer. The book could be wisely used as a guide for women's prayer groups, mid-week prayer meetings, radio addresses, daily devotions and private guidance. R. C. L.

STRENGTH FOR SERVICE TO GOD AND COUNTRY. *Edited by Chaplain Norman E. Nygaard.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. $0.75. This small, handy volume is well adapted in form and content as a companion to the soldier's or sailor's Testament. It consists of 365 daily messages from 365 leading ministers and laymen. Each page contains suggested Scripture readings, a theme, a text, a brief and pointed

disquisition and a prayer. Among the contributors I found, in addition to many familiar leaders of the North and West, the following ministers of our Church: J. H. Marion, Jr.; T. W. Currie; W. L. Hall; T. C. Barr; J. C. Reid; P. H. Pleune; J. M. McKnight; T. E. Gouwens; J. C. Siler, S. R. Oglesby and T. F. Gallaher. B. R. L., Jr.

THE WORLD AT ONE IN PRAYER. *Edited by Daniel Johnson Fleming.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 193 pages. $2.00. Here is a splendid addition to one's devotional literature. Dr. Fleming has, seemingly, gathered prayers from all corners of the world. Many of them echo the idiom and thinking of the particular people. All are vivid. They are marked by humility, a sense of sin, a deep yearning for God and a knowledge of His power to answer. The prayers evidence preparation in thought if not in the actual selection of words. Perhaps a majority of the prayers have to do with personal problems and a plea for God's redemption. But frequently the reader is stabbed awake by some heartfelt cry for the world, such as the one quoted from a native of the Belgian Congo who had never been more than twenty-five miles from his home. He prayed, "Our Heavenly Father, let the kings of the earth get together and settle all the world's quarrels. Teach the people of the world to love one another." Here is the sort of book every minister should read regularly to stir up his own prayer life and to enable him to lead the prayers of others realistically. L. I. S.

HYMN DRAMAS. *By Ernest K. Emurian.* W. A. Wilde Company, Boston. Books I, II, III, IV. 40 pages each. $.35 each. These dramatizations of great hymns and the lives of hymn-writers were reviewed last quarter when the complete book was published. Now they may be secured in pamphlet form, two to a booklet. Their popularity and wide usefulness are assured. A. N. B.

THE PRACTICAL USE CYCLOPEDIA OF SERMON SUGGESTIONS. *By G. B. F. Hallock.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 281 pages. $2.75. This book, like some other things, is divided into three parts. In Part I there are "Three Hundred Outline Studies of Striking Texts and Themes;" Part II contains "Six Hundred and Fifty Suggestive Texts and Themes for Special Days and Occasions;" Part III is composed of "Two Thousand Suggestive Texts and Themes for General Use." It is carefully indexed by subject, text and special days and occasions. Dr. Hallock has an amazing ability to do this sort of thing, being the author of several other "encyclopedias" and the editor of *Doran's Ministers Manual.* It is good of its kind, and if a man can use it properly it might be suggestive and helpful in stirring his own mind to think. For some of us, however, a

book of this type, like the barren fig tree, bears nothing but leaves, and they are withered and dry. W. T. T.

SPURGEON'S SERMON ILLUSTRATIONS. *Compiled and edited by David Otis Fuller.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 142 pages. $1.00. If it be true, as the publishers aver, that Spurgeon is quoted more than any single individual since New Testament days, this little volume is one of those indispensable tools for the Christian worker. The books is in two parts. The major portion consists of Spurgeon's sermon illustrations condensed and edited by the pastor of the Wealthy Street Baptist Temple of Grand Rapids, David Otis Fuller. The last 42 pages of the volume is a condensation of *Spurgeon's Gold,* originally published in 1888 by Edmond H. Swem. The editor's wise selections in both parts of the book make it a valuable source of help. His selections from Surgeon's sermon illustrations are arranged in alphabetical order to facilitate their use. Like all truly great preaching, that of Spurgeon never grows old. Teachers, ministers, public speakers engaged in religious work and all Christian workers are indebted to the editor for this splendid compilation. R. C. L.

YOUR MORALE. *By Austin Pardue.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 132 pages. $1.50. The author of this book, who is an Episcopalian minister, has already won a place in our hearts through his book dealing with The Lord's Prayer,—*Bold To Say.* He writes well, with an easy grace and ready wit, illustrating his deep thinking with many surface illustrations of every day life and affairs. Here he includes twenty sermon-addresses delivered after Pearl Harbor in which he undertakes to show us how to build Christian morale in war time. With questions on every hand as to where the church can help most in such a time as this, the author shows the great value of inner discipline and demands courage and Christian control,—graces that the church needs always to inculcate. He makes a strong presentation of prayer, vision and the living of the simple life in the midst of pressure in order to defeat fear. His characteristics of one equal to the crisis include exercise, reading, thrift, cheerfulness, silence, courage, unity of all people, faith, thought-control and prayer. R. C. L.

THAT WE MIGHT KNOW HIM. *By Orvall D. Peterson.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 116 pages. $1.00. This book is made up of fourteen devotional sermons by the pastor of First Christian church, Yakima, Washington. They are simple, non-controversial and commendably brief. They are heart-warming rather than heart-searching. It is hard to imagine anyone listening to these sermons and being disturbed about his way of life or about our civilization's way of life. One finds here no rationing of pulpit sugar. Picturesque and soothing, the book offers a fairly good example of the kind of preaching that neither puts people to sleep nor wakes them up. J. H. M., Jr.

GATES OF BRASS. A Narrative Poem of the Passion and Triumph of the Son of God. *By Donald Rodgers Fletcher.* Presbyterian Press, Philadelphia. 45 pages. $1.00. This is an interesting, if ambitious, effort of a young man, now a student in Princeton Seminary, to write his tribute in verse to the Christ, under the divisions, "Gethsemane," "Golgotha" and "Triumph." The poet is the son of missionaries now detained in Korea. His contribution is earnest and sincere. If it falls below the measure of *great* poetry, one may remember, as an initial handicap, the difficulty of improving upon the language and the poetry of the English Bible. Narrow is the way and few have found it. Anyway, this is a stimulating effort which may be read with genuine helpfulness and deepening loyalty to Christ —which would make it a success. From these closing lines one may catch the poet's spirit:

> "Go, little band, go into all the world;
> Scatter the embers of the burning Cross:
> Go to the sword, the arena, and the beast.
> The Master went; for Him count all but loss."

A. N. B.

WHEN LIGHTS BURN LOW. *By Helen L. Toner.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 120 pages. $1.00. A tract for the times is this little volume from the pen of one of the few women ever ordained to the Methodist ministry. Against the background of present world turmoil, she writes of a Faith which builds upon the unfailing God of the New Testament, "a rock, immovable, unchanging." Her message is especially for those who have fallen into moods of insecurity and futility and feel the need of illumination for spiritual darkness. Two particularly helpful chapters are those on "Certainty" and The Cross. J. M. M.

KEEPING THE FAITH. *By Walter E. Schuette.* The Wartburg Press, (Lutheran Book Concern), Columbus, O. 227 pages. $2.00. This book's subtitle, "Sermons for Special Occasions," well describes its contents. Thirty-one biblical sermons delivered on such occasions as the Dedication of a Church, Chancel, Organ; Ordination and Installation, Minister's Funeral, Baccalaureate, Seminary Day, National and two series of Lenten addresses, are presented as "patterns," to use Dr. Schuette's own term. He declares that, "there is one great theme for preaching, and that is God's love as extended to fallen men in the atonement by the blood of Jesus, our Savior; and there is only one Savior to preach." J. S. A.

FAITH AND THE ROOT. *By Barbara Frances Fleury.* E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. 251 pages. $2.50. This novel, dealing with the life story of a kindly, lovable Catholic priest, Father German, whose ministry

extends alike to Protestants and Catholics within his parish on the Lake Michigan waterfront, is on the pattern used by A. J. Cronin in *The Keys of the Kingdom*. Those who enjoyed that book will enjoy this one. The author writes well, pictures the locale of the story beautifully and treats the development of Father German's character with skill. Again and again the priest turns his face and thought to his former home in France and longs to return, but the daily tasks pile up about him until the dream and hope is never realized. The problems which he faced with the people in his parish are like those which every true priest or minister constantly faces and the love which the hero of this novel manifests towards those who are enmeshed in sin is a major asset in the solution of these problems.

C. H. N.

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JAMES HENLEY THORNWELL:
Presbyterian Defender of the Old South[1]

By the Rev. Paul Leslie Garber, Ph. D.,
Pastor of the Trinity Avenue Presbyterian Church, Durham, North Carolina.

I. Biographical

In the eighty years since his death no Southerner has contributed as much to American Presbyterianism as did James Henley Thornwell. His life spanned an inter-war period in American history, 1812-1862. He was born December 9, 1812 on a plantation in Marlborough District, South Carolina, the second of four children. His father was an English-born plantation overseer and manager, a man who provided well for his family. James' mother was of Welsh Baptist stock. Her staunch Calvinistic faith during the years of privation the family knew after the father's death, December 30, 1820, together with the refined character of the home James knew during the first eight years of his life, left indelible marks upon the later thought of the first-born son.

James' first formal education was begun in an "old field" school under a respected classical scholar, Peter McIntyre. Sharing McIntyre's interest in young Thornwell's intellectual precocity were two wealthy residents of the neighborhood, General James Gillespie, an elderly planter, and William H. Robbins, a promising

[1]The introductory portion of a thesis, "The Religious Thought of James Henley Thornwell," submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Duke University, Durham, N. C., 1939.

young lawyer of Cheraw, who together financed his further education. For a time Robbins himself was Thornwell's tutor. Later the boy was enrolled in a private academy in Cheraw to complete his college preparation.

In January, 1830, Thornwell became a member of the junior class at South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina). His studies there were classical in nature. Most of his courses were in Greek and Roman literature and the rudiments of philosophy. He acquired the reputation of being the college's outstanding student debater. It was with first honors in his class that he graduated in December, 1831.

Thornwell remained at the college for a while after graduation in a financially unprofitable experiment with tutoring. He wanted to continue his studies in the classics, but for financial reasons he was forced to accept appointment as principal of the Cheraw academy, where he remained for two years, 1832-1834. In this period Thornwell made confession of his faith and united with the Presbyterian church.

The materials available are adequate for only a partial account of Thornwell's adolescent religious development. At thirteen years of age he is reported to have defended his mother's Calvinism against a kinsman's Methodist Arminianism. When he was seventeen he stated that the way for him "to glorify God" was by following the profession of a theologian. His fellow-students at the college thought his talents pointed to the practice of law, to which profession his benefactors, Gillespie and Robbins, had also urged him. But Thornwell's aim at that time was to be a man of letters. His decision to enter the ministry evidently was made simultaneously with his affiliation with the Presbyterian church, for on December 2, 1833, the Presbytery of Harmony received Thornwell as a candidate for the ministry. Just how Thornwell's attention was drawn to the Westminister Confession of Faith may not be definitely known, but there is little doubt that he was led to the Presbyterian Church and to its ministry by his personal study of this body's doctrinal standard. The following summer he went to Andover, Massachusetts, to begin his seminary education. After a brief stay he removed to Harvard, where for six weeks he studied

privately in Divinity Hall. Ill-health forced him to return to South Carolina.

Thornwell had planned to enter the senior class in the theological seminary at Columbia. But, as there was a current scarcity of ministers, within a month after his return to South Carolina Thornwell was licensed by his Presbytery and, in the spring of 1835, was ordained and installed as pastor of the newly organized church at Lancaster. He served this parish for almost three years, during which time he began to take his place in the courts of the Church.

In December, 1835, Thornwell married the sister of his college classmate, James H. Witherspoon, Nancy White Witherspoon. She was a grandniece of John Witherspoon, Presbyterian minister and president of the College of New Jersey, the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence.

Thornwell left Lancaster to begin his duties as a professor at South Carolina College in January, 1838. He was to serve his *alma mater* for the next eighteen years save for two short pastoral intervals. He was professor of rhetoric and *belles lettres* for two years. From 1841 to 1851 he was chaplain and Professor of Sacred Literature and Evidences of Christianity. In 1852 he was made president of the college, which position he held until 1856. From 1856 to his death in 1862 Thornwell was Professor of Systematic Theology at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Columbia.

Two of his colleagues on the faculty at the college later acquired national reputations. Francis Lieber, the political scientist, was on familiar terms with Thornwell until 1855, when, Lieber charged, Thornwell's religious bigotry defeated his election to the college's presidency. Joseph LeConte, one of South Carolina's famous men of science, recorded in his autobiography that Thornwell was one whose society at Columbia had stimulated his intellectual activity.

The scope of Thornwell's accomplishments within the brief fifty years of his life is remarkably significant. Certain of his boyhood aspirations were fulfilled in startling fashion. He confessed that from his earliest self-reflection the ambition to be a man of learning had worked like a passion within him. At a dinner party in New York in 1856 Professor George Bancroft of Harvard pre-

sented Thornwell a fine copy of Aristotle's works on the fly-leaf of which he had inscribed in Latin, "A testimonial of regard to the Rev. J. H. Thornwell, the most learned of the learned." In college days Thornwell's hope was that he should be a man of letters who should not die unsung like a beast in the field. He left the world of scholarly research four large volumes of his writings, another of his letters and other printed articles and several manuscripts.[2] His ambition to be a theologian, conceived at the age of seventeen, defined itself in 1834 at Harvard: "I wish to establish a literary character in my native state: for I have an eye on a Professorship in the Theological Seminary at Columbia." When he died it was to his influence more than to the influence of any other one man that this institution owed its national reputation.

II. Channels of Thornwell's Influence

Thornwell's religious thought was most popularly known tthrough his preaching. On his journeys to various points in the United States as a commissioner to General Assemblies, and on repeated trips through the South and Southwest, he preached to large congregations. Yet he was not a preacher for the masses. His language was too academic and his arguments were too closely knit in Aristotelian logic for them. Not that his preaching was cold and unemotional. As he wrestled with problems, and as he expounded his convictions of truth and error, his enthusiasm mounted. Once when he was preaching in Charleston on the Last Judgment, it is recorded, "the whole congregation appeared terror-stricken and unconsciously seized the backs of the pews." A young man present on the occasion testified that "he was never so frightened in all his life."[3]

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[2]J. B. Adger and J. L. Girardeau, eds. The *Collected Writings of J. H. Thornwell, D. D., LL. D.* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1871-1873), 4 vols.; B. M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of J. H. Thornwell, D. D., LL. D.* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1875). Most of the extant mss. are to be found in the Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C., and in the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[3]Thomas H. Law in the *Centennial Addresses* (Spartanburg, S. C.: Band-White, 1913), p. 16.

Dr. Addison Alexander, professor at Princeton Seminary, said of one of Thornwell's General Assembly sermons that it was "as fine a specimen of Demosthenian eloquence as he had ever heard from the pulpit, and that it realized his idea of what preaching should be." John C. Calhoun in 1843 campared Thornwell to his teacher at Yale, Timothy Dwight, and commented on Thornwell's thorough acquaintance with topics generally familiar only to statesmen. After having heard Thornwell at South Carolina College in 1847, Daniel Webster is reported to have exclaimed: "Greatest pulpit orator I have ever heard." As a preacher Thornwell was to the South of his day what Charles Hodge or Albert W. Barnes was to Presbyterians of the North.

Through his active participation in the official life of the Presbyterian Church during a critical period of its history, Thornwell's religious thought had a wider influence than has often been credited to him. He attended Synod first in 1836, a time when the break between the Old School and New School parties was beginning to manifest itself as irrepressible. He attended General Assembly for the first time in 1837, when that schism was consummated. By the time of his next Assembly, 1845, his reputation had been made by his writings. From that year he was named a commissioner to almost half the Assemblies held during his lifetime. In 1847 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly, the youngest man before or since to hold that high office. He was thirty-four years old. In all of the Assemblies he attended after 1845 he was a prominent figure, being named to important committees and commissions and being invited several times to preach before that national body. All of the Southern Presbyterians and many of the Northern members of that Church probably would have agreed with Henry Ward Beecher's comment: "By common fame, Dr. Thornwell was the most brilliant minister in the Old School Presbyterian Church, and the most brilliant debater in the General Assembly. This reputation he early gained and never lost. Whenever he was present in the Assembly, he was always the first person pointed out to a stranger."[4]

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[4]First printed in *The Independent*. Quoted in Jos. M. Wilson, ed., *The Presbyterian Almanac for 1863*, pp. 211-212.

Although he confessed to Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, his intimate friend, an aversion to writing, Thornwell left posterity sufficient evidence that the influence of his religious thinking through the printed page was considerable. His early magazine articles appeared in religious publications edited by Breckinridge. In 1846 he joined B. M. Palmer and John B. Adger in establishing *The Southern Presbyterian Review.* The prospectus for the quarterly indicated that it was to be partly literary and partly theological in character. Its purposes were to expound and defend the doctrines and polity of the Presbyterian Church, to devote no small amount of its pages to controversies with Roman Catholic and Protestant heresies and to propound the principles of a sound moral philosophy. During the fifteen years between the establishment of this quarterly and his death, Thornwell supplied it with twenty-five major articles. He was, according to a later editor of the magazine, "Its main pillar; . . . he . . . did more to give it reputation than any other regular contributor, or, possibly, than all other contributors combined." Certain of his articles were sharply polemic in tone—against Romanism, against "novelties" in Presbyterian polity, against heretical theologies and against infidel philosophies. Many of these were in the form of book reviews. Others concerned current topics of debate in church circles. Some of the later ones had important political implications. Some were sermons. Excerpts from some of these articles were reprinted by a number of the religious weekly newspapers then circulated throughout the South.

The Southern Quarterly Review was established in 1842 under the editorship of William Gilmore Simms. During the 1850's, through Simms' friendship with the Virginia Tory, Beverley Tucker, the journal acquired a political reputation. In 1856, when financially the magazine was ready to collapse, Thornwell assumed its editorship. He issued three numbers, April and August, 1856, and February, 1857, before, through lack of patronage, the publication came to its undeserved end. In those three issues Thornwell had five articles,—a review-essay on American higher education, an essay in memory of his professor of philosophy, Robert Henry, an essay on Plato's philosophy, a review-essay on miracles and a series of brief reviews.

During his lifetime Thornwell published certain of his critical articles and sermons in book form. The one on the validity of the Apocrypha, 1844, was his part of a series of heated articles exchanged with a Roman Catholic priest of Charleston on that subject. The other, *Discourses on Truth,* 1855, was a series of sermon-essays which he delivered as chaplain of South Carolina College.

It was one of Thornwell's youthful dreams to do something concerning what he considered the deplorable state of Southern literature. In 1836 his Synod named him on a committee to investigate the possibilities of establishing a Southern theological review. In his writings noted above he did his share toward fulfilling these dreams and thereby also widened measurably the circle of influence for his own thought.

Not much is known concerning Thornwell's activities in secular politics. Nevertheless the influence of some social aspects of his religious thought in this regard is worthy of note.

There are three institutions in whose traditions Thornwell's thought was implanted. The University of South Carolina honors the name of Thornwell with a scholarship and a dormitory. Columbia Theological Seminary prides itself in the fact that Thornwell's theology and polity remain its tradition and its teaching. In whatever manner the Southern Presbyterian Church may have departed from the ideals he defined for it in its establishment in 1861, that denomination remains to an extent the lengthened shadow of James Henley Thornwell as the Scottish church is of John Knox.

III. Thornwell the Philosopher

England and Europe in the 19th century produced extensive philosophical literature in which the typical concepts and principles of earlier periods were carefully reconsidered. This is equally true of 19th century philosophy in America. Philosophical thought here during this period followed two lines. The one was Emersonian transcendentalism. By and large this sort of thinking as a system of philosophy influenced only a select few of the New England aristocracy. The other line of development was a continuation of Scottish common sense realism, which remained, at least until about the opening of the 20th century, the basis of our

academic philosophy. It was not until near the close of the 19th century that any German philosophy was systematically presented in American college class-rooms. Before the late 1800's the name of Kant was rarely heard.

The American interpretation of Scottish common sense realism became widely accepted after the Civil War through the influence of James McCosh at Princeton and Noah Porter at Yale. Just how much influence this type of thought had prior to this time, scholarly research has yet to discover. It is known, however, that this influence upon American thought was considerable. John Witherspoon, who in 1768 came from Scotland to be President of the College of New Jersey, (now Princeton University), and his successor, Samuel Stanhope Smith, firmly implanted the tenets of Scottish realism as that institution's traditional and almost official philosophical doctrine. Levi Hedge, appointed by Harvard in 1810 as America's first full-time professor of philosophy, taught metaphysics and logic along lines indicated by Scottish realism. Francis Wayland, President and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy at Brown University from 1827 to 1855, followed Butler, Reid and Stewart in metaphysics, epistemology, psychology and ethics. In 1855 Wayland published the first edition of his *Moral Science*. This work passed through many revisions and editions. By 1868, 137,000 copies had been sold. The South gave it a warm reception.[5]

H. G. Townsend, in *Philosophical Ideas in the United States,* makes no mention of philosophical developments in the South. Nevertheless these developments are significant, particularly in relation to the influence of Scottish realism. The philosophical background of the Scotch-Irish immigrants who made their way down the Atlantic seaboard to settle was as important a contribution to the indigenous culture of this area as other elements in their heritage. The College of New Jersey, with its philosophical tradition of Scottish realism, was patronized by Southerners in such numbers that until the 1850's the institution was considered by North and South alike as Southern in its sympathies. Graduates

[5]Wm. E. Drake, "Higher Education in North Carolina before 1860," University of North Carolina Ph. D. thesis. Mss. Typescript collection, U. of N. C. Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

of Princeton were responsible for leadership in, and in many cases for the actual founding of, institutions of higher education in the South. The intellectual dominance of the Presbyterian denomination on the Atlantic seaboard up to the middle of the 19th century made prevalent the theology of Scottish Calvinism and with it the philosophy of Scottish realism.

"The men of the South have been men of action and seldom philosophers," wrote a prominent historian of the South, U. B. Phillips, in 1904.[6] More recent research is tending to modify this judgment. The early movement in this country for state-supported colleges and universities was fostered chiefly in the South. The higher type of Northern journalism received substantial patronage from the South. The general level of education may have been lower and information may have been less widely disseminated in the South than it was in the North, but the Old South did have its philosophical interests among "the chosen few." One of the intellectual interests it shared with the North was that of maintaining the academic philosophical traditions of this country,—Scottish realism.

Thornwell's first knowledge of Scottish realism did not come through the American interpretation which, as had been indicated, was prevalent in the North during his student days. His access to Scottish realism was more direct than that. Thornwell inherited a fondness for both things and ideas British. He spoke with hearty approval of "the sturdy common sense of Englishmen." Before he was twelve years of age he had read Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Soon afterward he discovered Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* in the library of his benefactor. The reading of this work, he later confessed, first gave him an inclination to philosophy. Before he entered college, Thornwell had memorized long passages from Stewart, Jonathan Edwards and John Owen. During his college years, he read Berkeley, Hume, Swift, Brown and Shaftesbury, as well as Plato, Aristotle and Cicero in the original languages. Shortly after graduation from college he projected a

[6]U. B. Phillips, "Conservation and Progress in the Cotton Belt," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. iii, no. 1 (January, 1904), p. 2.

critical review of Sir James Mackintosh's *View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy.*

The philosophical tradition of South Carolina College was set by its first president, the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., a New England Baptist minister. He had been for ten years President of Brown University, his *alma mater,* and for two years President of Union College, Schenectady, New York, before coming to South Carolina. President Maxcy had a reputation as a scholar of metaphysics. Little is known of his philosophical position other than what can be inferred from the fact that he had had his training in a center of New England Scottish realism and from the fact that he had established a tradition in South Carolina College for that type of philosophical thought.

That tradition was modified markedly by Maxcy's successor, the colorful Thomas Cooper, M. D. Cooper was an Englishman, an Oxford-trained industrial chemist. Interested in social experiments, Cooper visited Paris for a first-hand observation of the French Revolution in 1792. Here he was greeted by Robespierre and other Jacobins. It has been conjectured that Cooper was a member of this party. In England he was related both by friendship and marital ties to Joseph Priestley, a Deist and a disciple of Bentham in ethical thought.

Cooper came to America with Priestley. Locating in Pennsylvania, he took up a political career, during the course of which he served two prison terms: one for slander of John Adams, President of the United States, and a second for conduct in office unbecoming a judge. After this he was Professor of Chemistry at Carlisle (later Dickinson) College and at the University of Pennsylvania. The University of New York conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine. Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Cooper is acknowledged by every enlightened man who knows him, to be the greatest man in America, in the powers of mind, and in acquired information and that, without a single exception." In 1817 Jefferson had Cooper elected to the chair of chemistry in the newly organized University of Virginia, but Presbyterians of that state, under the persistent leadership of Dr. John Holt Rice, succeeded in preventing Cooper's installation at Charlottesville on grounds of his religious unorthodoxy and intolerance.

It was at this point in his career, when he was sixty years of age, that Cooper was brought to South Carolina College. Within a year he was made president. Shortly thereafter the liberality of his religious views became apparent. A member in good standing in the Episcopal church at Columbia, he was commonly considered to hold Socinian or Unitarian views. Later he was interpreted as a Deist.

The criterion for religion, Cooper publicly stated, should be that "laid down by Christ himself, 'By their fruits shall ye know them.' " In ethical theory he tended toward the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham. He could find no excuse for metaphysics. In psychology Cooper, proposing a roughly formulated materialism based upon the premise that the brain-mass was adequate to account for all mental activities, concluded that the hypothesis of an immaterial soul was unnecessary. He was not altogether friendly to the institution of slavery. His political theories, which he publicized widely, have led to his being termed "the father of nullification in South Carolina." His intellectual abilities and attainments were impressive; his nature, benevolent. So frank and simple was he in his manners that, despite all those elements within his thought which tended to make him unpopular in South Carolina in the 1820's, the State maintained him as president of its college.

Thornwell admitted that these same qualities led to personal admiration for him. Early in Thornwell's college career a friend in writing to him referred to Cooper as "your idol." By 1831, however, Thornwell was so firmly convinced of the errors in Cooper's views that, when a resolution to support Cooper against the charges brought against him publicly was presented to the senior class, Thornwell led the movement to defeat it. There is some ground for considering Thornwell's acceptance of a teaching position at the college in 1838, after he had been ordained as a Presbyterian minister, as his effort to counteract the Cooper religious and philosophical influence at South Carolina College.

The apprehension with which Thornwell as a student came to view Cooper's philosophy may have led to his appreciation of Robert Henry. At any rate, Thornwell claimed that conversations with this man constituted the main benefit he enjoyed in college. Later he stated: "To him more than to any other man . . . we

are indebted for the direction of our own studies, and for whatsoever culture our mind has received."

Robert Henry, Charlestonian by birth, was educated in England. He received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1814. His studies in philosophy were pursued under the direction of Thomas Brown. Sir William Hamilton was his fellow-student. After a year of European travel and another of preaching in a Charleston French Calvinist church, Henry was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic at South Carolina College. That was in 1818. Until 1854, when he retired, with but one brief interruption he remained a professor at the college. The influence of this man and of his type of philosophy upon the traditions of the institution was obviously large.

With the exception of politics, in which field they were agreed, Cooper and Henry differed widely. Thornwell claimed that on every point in ethics, philosophy and religion they were poles apart. Henry devoted no little attention to metaphysics. In that subject he followed Thomas Brown. He criticized points made both by Reid and by Hamilton. Henry had great admiration for Berkeley. He said, Thornwell reported, that if given the alternative he would find it easier to maintain the non-existence of matter than the non-existence of mind. Although well versed in the German language, Henry knew little of German philosophy. He thought little of Kant and less of Kant's disciples.

Henry taught courses in the evidences of Christianity. These, Thornwell wrote, were not without their effect in saving the faith of men who were tempted by the heresy of Cooper. He also taught the history of philosophy. He was the first professor in the college to give logic a preeminent place in the curriculum. Thornwell gave Henry the credit, thus, for establishing a tradition in logical thinking for which South Carolinians were to become nationally famed.

In ethics Henry evolved a system of his own, one in which duties were regarded as arising out of the social nature of man and of God. Moral truth is discoverable by rational processes. Conscience is simply an emotional sanction for moral convictions. He also gave courses in political philosophy. Thornwell accorded

him the distinction of being the first to introduce this subject into American collegiate instruction. Henry's background in this field was his study at Edinburgh of Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart.

It was, then, under the training of a man who had pursued studies with the great masters of Scottish realism that Thornwell formulated his own philosophical point of view. In the light of this background it is not particularly startling that he should have adopted the position of Scottish realism. Thornwell wrote of James McCosh's *The Method of Divine Government*: "We regard it as one of the first productions of the age." In 1890 Noah Porter wrote: Thornwell "published many able and important discussions on Philosophical Theology and Ethics." His disciple, colleague and successor at the theological seminary in Columbia, John L. Girardeau, wrote to B. M. Palmer, Thornwell's biographer, "You are correct . . . in assigning him, in the main, to the Scotch School of Philosophy."

Judging from the foot-note references to philosophical books in Thornwell's *Collected Writings,* he possessed a large number of major works in this field. Among the classical writers represented are: Aquinas, Aristotle, Bacon, Plato and Cicero. Thornwell referred to two German histories of philosophy, Brucker and Schwegler. He read Kant both in translation and in the original.

Thornwell's writings reveal little knowledge of American authors in philosophical subjects. He did refer to works by Jasper Adams, President of Charleston College, William Ellery Channing, Jonathan Edwards and James McCosh. He referred to three or four works by his contemporary, the French philosopher, Victor Cousin.

In the main, however, Thornwell's philosophical taste ran to English and Scotch thought. He possessed many volumes of both the Bampton and the Boyle Lectures. The names which appear most frequently in the four volumes of Thornwell's *Collected Writings* are: Berkeley, Butler (whose *Analogy* was termed a masterly treatise), Sir William Hamilton, Hume, Locke, John Stuart Mill, J. D. Morell, William Paley, Dugald Stewart, Jeremy Taylor, William Whewell and Richard Whately.

IV. Thornwell the Theologian

Nineteenth century American Calvinistic theology may be viewed as having developed along two lines. One of these began with Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758). By his acceptance of a Berkeleyan-like idealism, Edwards modified the strict Calvinism of New England Puritanism. Further qualifications were offered by Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), Nathaniel W. Taylor (1786-1858) and Charles G. Finney (1792-1875). This type of modified Calvinism was characteristic of Congregationalism and of more liberal Presbyterianism and during the 19th century was referred to as the New England or New School theology.

Calvinism as the original English Presbyterian-Puritans received it, claiming to have been more directly derived from the doctrines of Augustine and Calvin, was distinguished as Old School. Its characteristic emphases were placed upon the sovereignty of God and upon the guilt of inherited depravity. Charles (1797-1878) and A. A. Hodge (1823-1886) at Princeton Seminary and Robert J. Breckinridge (1800-1871) at Danville, Kentucky, Seminary, with Thornwell, were among the strongest advocates of Old School theology.

In 1801 a part of the Congregational Church and the Presbyterian Church consolidated forces under a Plan of Union with a view to the evangelization of the West. The followers of Princeton and the Old School theology became increasingly apprehensive of the Plan of Union. They were convinced that this association was injecting theological error into the Presbyterian Church. On the common grounds of theological apprehension and a conservative attitude toward slavery, the Old School combined forces North and South. By 1837 the Old School was sufficiently strong in the Assembly to demand and receive action whereby it was hoped New England opinion and influences would be largely removed from the Presbyterian Church. The following year the New School Presbyterian Church formed a separate organization.

There was a certain amount of New School influence in the South during this controversy. In general, however, this section was conservative in its theology, as it was in its social thought.

By 1836 the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, patron of the seminary, had become definitely Old School. Thornwell indicated in a letter to his wife written during his first meeting with that Synod in 1836 that the Old School party had determined to push action toward exscinding New Schoolism and that he would support the movement. In a similar letter, written in 1837 from the meeting of General Assembly after the excluding action had been taken, Thornwell expressed his conviction that the New School members were never constitutionally and regularly a part of the Church. The exscinding act he considered simply a legal statement of that fact.

As far as the South is concerned, the popularity of the conservative Old School theology may be viewed as a part of a larger movement of thought. The first four decades of the 19th century brought the beginnings of widespread criticism by Southerners of Jeffersonian liberalism in all fields of thought. The liberalizing modifications of Calvinism offered by the New School theology were unacceptable to most Southern Presbyterians. Some would have made Jonathan Edwards the infallible test of orthodoxy. Others were critical even of Edwards' Calvinistic variations. The latter increasingly returned to the touchstone of Calvin's works as interpreted by the early English Puritan thinkers and the continental reformed theologians of the Calvinistic sort. James H. Thornwell was the leader of the latter group. Such was his influence that as late as 1916 a representative of Columbia Seminary wrote: "The theology of Thornwell and Girardeau must always be the type for which this institution stands."[7]

In the footnotes of the four volumes of Thornwell's *Collected Writings* there are references to over 300 different books of a strictly theological nature. His library in this field must have been unusually extensive. One hundred and twenty-five of the titles cited may be considered of minor importance. A survey of the remaining titles is rather revealing in disclosing the sources of Thornwell's theology.

There are six titles in Biblical literature, Jahn, Delitzsch and

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[7]George A. Blackburn, ed., *The Life Work of John L. Girardeau* (Columbia, S. C.: The State Co. 1916), p. 139.

Leusden on the criticism of Old Testament language and literature, a Greek lexicon, Suicerus, and two New Testament commentaries, one in English by Lightfoot, the other in German by Eichhorn.

Thornwell's collection of writings of the Early Church fathers was extensive. The more familiar names are represented. There are also works by the lesser known figures such as Dionysius, Ambrose of Milan, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Rufinus and the Jewish scholar, Maimonides (from whom Thornwell derived his "contingency" argument for the existence of God). Of the medieval and modern Roman Catholic theologians, Thornwell had Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica,* eight works by Bellarmine (1542-1621), and Pascal's *Provincial Letters.* Concerning the Reformation and its theology, Thornwell had access to D'Aubigné's and Wallington's histories, Melanchthon's *Opera Omnia,* as well as to Calvin's *Institutes* (his text-book in teaching systematic theology), *Commentaries* and *Tracts.*

It is significant that Thornwell made reference to a large number of writings by both English and Dutch Puritan thinkers: Stephen Charnock, Chillingworth, Cocceius, whose work in part led to the popularity of the Federal Calvinistic theology, De Moor, Richard Hooker, John Howe, Knapp (a Kantian Calvinist), John Owen, the most rigid of all Puritan thinkers, Franciscus Turretin (*Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ,* a Calvinistic work used as a text at Princeton Seminary into the 20th century), and Van Mastricht.

Thornwell's collection of theological works by Englishmen who were his contemporaries was likewise large. These included six sets of Bampton Lectures. Henry L. Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought,* on which Thornwell drew for a part of his epistemology, was among them. Aside from these, there were writings by Beckerstetch, Bishop Bull, Thomas Chalmers, Principal William Cunningham, South, R. C. Trench, Warburton, and Wardlaw.

The works which Thornwell employed in reference to the English Puritan movement consisted mainly of four volumes by John Milton. Thornwell prized *Paradise Lost,* from which he memorized long passages which he frequently used in the pulpit.

Apart from Kant's philosophical works, Thornwell seemed to have possessed nothing in the original from the German theologians

of the early 19th century. He mentioned several of them, such as Schleiermacher and Strauss. He had the works of the more evangelical German writers, Nitzsch and Max Müller. Development of the Tübingen school of theology had not yet delivered its full impact on American thought. Certain implications which this school was to follow out later, Thornwell anticipated. Collecting these implications of Hegelian and Kantian philosophies under the term rationalism, Thornwell fought it desperately. He considered it the most dangerous single form of infidelity.

In his writings Thornwell ignored American theological thought almost entirely. Apart from William Ellery Channing's *Works,* he seemed to have known nothing directly of New England liberal religious thought. He mentioned only four American thinkers aside from Channing. One of these was R. J. Breckinridge, his personal friend. Another was Charles Hodge, who openly debated with Thornwell at several General Assemblies from 1844 to 1861. A third was Jonathan Edwards. The fourth was Samuel J. Baird, whose *The First Adam and the Second* the New School considered hopelessly conservative. Thornwell viewed it as permeated with a dangerous type of error. During the early part of his life Thornwell read closely the religious journals published by Breckinridge. Later he followed Hodge's *Princeton Review.* Apart from these, however, although he was an editor of a religious quarterly, Thornwell seems to have ignored the extensive religious periodical literature published in the North during his lifetime.

An interesting part of his theological library was a set of nine catechisms, confessions of faith and reports of Church Councils, Catholic and Protestant, ancient, medieval and modern. In discussing the history of theological thought or that of church polity, he was accustomed to refer to them.

What has been stated concerning the adequacy of Thornwell's aptitude and equipment as a philosophical thinker may be applied with equal appropriateness to his ability as a theologian. Something of the extent of his available source materials has been noted. The indication is that he drew heavily upon Anglican and Scottish Calvinism as well as upon Calvin's own works as sources for his theology.

By the time he had entered into his active ministry Thornwell had adopted the Old School position in theology. He later referred to the action of General Assembly in 1837 as God delivering the Church from a long, dark and mournful bondage to Pelagian principles. A paper which he wrote for the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1838 was adopted by that body as its confessed theological standard. Throughout the eighteen years of Thornwell's chaplaincy and professorship at South Carolina College his thinking was primarily theological in character. In 1856, in his inaugural address as Professor of Systematic Theology at Columbia Seminary, he referred to Calvinism as his heritage from a noble mother. He also spoke of his entrance into the teaching of theology as that event toward which Providence had guided him from his earliest religious life, through his fondness for philosophy, his college teaching and his ministerial career.

An historian of the Presbyterian Churches in America has ranked Thornwell as the third most influential systematic theologian in 19th century Presbyterianism. After Thornwell's death, one of his students wrote that he held no theological views which were not the common possessions of the Old School Church. Thornwell's theology is clearly not distinctive in its doctrines. The presentation of its contents, however, as another has written, is Thornwell's unique contribution to theology. By making the doctrine of justification central, he fused into a unity dogma and duty, theology and Christian ethics.[8]

Because of its tendency to speak in pious terms while undermining the foundations of Christianity, Thornwell viewed the type of theology presented by Schleiermacher as the new infidelity. "Rationalism," he prophesied, would become particularly dangerous in America. Its peculiar form of viciousness was a rejection of an objective revelation of God in Scriptures and an acceptance in its place of a man-made, pantheistic philosophy. The issue between the rationalists and Christians, he perceived, hinged on the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures and the authority of the Bible.

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[8]R. E. Thompson, *History of the Presbyterian Churches* (New York: Scribner's, 1907), p. 145. Thornton Whaling in the *Centennial Addresses*, p. 25.

In 1850 Thornwell wrote a friend that this issue would prove the ground of some desperate battles. By 1853 he was writing that there should be a thoroughgoing exposure of transcendental philosophy and that he was becoming chary of all opinions which conflict with the individuality of God. This constitutes a basis for the claim that Thornwell's *Discourses on Truth,* 1855, was intended by its author to be a refutation of rationalism. Sir William Hamilton, in a note acknowledging the gift of a copy of this work, commended it for its philosophical acuteness. It is more likely, however, that Thornwell had in mind the series of articles he wrote in *The Southern Presbyterian Review* from 1849 to 1856. The articles seem to form a review of J. D. Morell's *The Philosophy of Religion.* But, as they stand in the third volume of Thornwell's *Collected Writings,* they constitute an indictment of theological rationalism. The arguments employed are, in general, of the sort that later Calvinism has felt must be used against Ritschlianism. The acuteness of Thornwell's logic as applied to theological subjects is apparent no more clearly in any of his writings than in these pages.

Protestant thinkers in 19th century America, like Thornwell, were unable to view without a strong emotional reaction the rapid growth of the Roman Catholic Church. The 1840's found the validity of the Roman Church a heatedly debated question in the Presbyterian Church. Anti-Catholicism became a national political issue when it was written into the platform of the American party. The group had some power in the 1850's, when it was popularly known as the "Know-Nothing" party.

Apart from certain restricted areas, the Catholic Church was never large in the Old South. Yet from 1839 to the Civil War the prophetic zeal for righteousness which, in the North, was expended upon American slavery received expression in the South by repeated and vitriolic attacks upon Catholicism. The bitterness of spirit is reflected in a letter dated January 15, 1853, written by A. T. McGill to his wife from Columbia Seminary where he had just gone as professor: "The attempt to fire the Seminary edifice, about which I wrote, was made by *Roman Catholics.* It is said by some, that their exasperation was excited by *my arrival* and connection—it having been well known throughout the U. S. that I

lectured against them at Pittsburgh in attacking O'Conner; . . . Others, with more correctness, say, that it was owing to the conduct of some students of the Seminary, on Christmas—who repeatedly laughed during their service; and behaved with so much impropriety, that the Priest publicly rebuked them."[9]

Apart from the general spirit in the section in which he lived, there are three considerations which may have contributed to Thornwell's opposition to the Roman Catholic Church. Politically he was inclined to view with no little favor the general attitudes of the "Know-Nothing" party. His close friendship with R. J. Breckinridge brought him into intimate contact with one of this country's more virile opponents of Catholicism. In 1841, at Breckinridge's invitation, Thornwell wrote an article for publication attacking the validity of the Apocrypha. This led to a long series of bitterly worded open letters between Thornwell and Dr. A. P. Lynch of Charleston. Thornwell put his articles into book form in 1844. It was by this work that he first received national recognition as a writer. In 1845 the question of the validity of Catholic baptism was raised before the General Assembly. In the debate which ensued Thornwell had a prominent part. The Assembly's decision to deny the validity of such baptism brought forth a protest from Hodge's *Princeton Review*. The articles which were exchanged between Thornwell and Hodge during the following years have been included in the former's *Collected Writings*. Through these various polemical activities, Thornwell was led into original research of the source materials. This study convinced him, on theological and socio-political grounds, that "Romanism," as he called it, in all its aspects, represented the perfect archetype of the Anti-Christ.

V. Thornwell the Social Thinker

The developments in social life in his time could not but have had their effect upon Thornwell. The period was marked by sharply contrasting political views both in this country and in Europe. France lost its republican form of government under

[9]Mss. Collection, Presbyterian Historical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa. Italics in the original.

Napoleon's sway. Italy became unified and released from the Pope's temporal control. Prussia bristled with militarism and was engaged in certain social experiments which were viewed with alarm in this country. Austria was in the process of modernization. Spain, having exiled her monarch, was forced to decide between a republic and a constitutional monarchy. In Asia, the doors of both China and Japan were opened for intercourse with the Western world powers. In India and elsewhere, Great Britain had begun to assume "the white man's burden." The era of imperialism had come of age.

Marked differences of opinion were also noted in the social thought of the United States during the period of 1830-1862. The differences concerning secession and slavery were the most apparent. But there were others. Legal prohibition of the liquor trade was one of the issues. This movement was begun as early as 1817. In 1846 the Maine legislature enacted the first statewide prohibition law. The question of universal suffrage, bi-sexual as well as bi-racial, was another popular topic of earnest discussion. Socialism as a system was prominently advocated by men like Horace Greeley. The New England transcendentalists pursued their "Brook Farm" experiment in social organization.

Meanwhile a great wall of public opinion was being erected between the North and the South. The South had its unique Negro problem. This involved a labor system which barred from the Southern states those new immigrants who were entering the North in great numbers throughout the 19th century. The North's reception of the immigrants had two effects. In the North it gave rise to dreams of an exploitive industrialism. The Southern counterpart was an ideal of Greek democracy. As the South watched these increases in Northern population, Southerners became ever more conscious of themselves as a numerical minority within the nation.

This consciousness impelled two great movements of political and social thought within the section. The first was the insistence upon the doctrine of states' rights. This development began in South Carolina in the late 1820's. It became a part of secession theory both in the 1850's and again in the 1860's. The second was the rejection of Jeffersonian equalitarianism. This was ap-

parent by 1823, when the Reverend Richard Furman of South Carolina wrote that the Bible's Golden Rule implied a social stratification and was applicable only within the same social class. The same views were voiced in the 1850's by Dr. W. A. Smith of Hampden-Sidney College in Virginia. Elaborate social theories confidently stating that an aristocracy was the only society in which stability could be procured appeared in print as early as 1854.[10]

These differences in political and social theories made for strong sectional loyalties both in the South and in the North. Each section lived more and more to itself. The mutual intercourse in culture and thought which might have paralleled the advantage of economic trade was made impossible.

Thornwell made more of an effort to understand and appreciate the North than did other Southerners of his time. Nevertheless he confessed a great love for the South. His loyalty to South Carolina was almost a passion with him. This is reflected in much of his social thought.

He viewed with interest and with no little concern the conflicts in social theory both here and abroad. The issue as he conceived it centered in the question of the relation of man to society, of states to the individual and of the individual to the states. He was interested in the conflict, for out of it he thought the truth would emerge. He was concerned with it, for he felt the contestants could be grouped under two classes, Christians and Atheists. The progress of humanity was at stake. Yet he prophesied that the principles underlying Southern slavery would be vindicated. Despotism of masses, as he called communism, socialism and equalitarian democracy alike, would be defeated. The supremacy of a single will, as under a monarch or a dictatorship, would also be defeated. Representative republican government he thought, must be victorious.

During the period of 1830-1860 the most acute thinkers in the South were actively defending slavery as a system. Thornwell was one of these. His contemporaries spoke of his thought as representative. They indicated their evaluation of his influence

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[10]Geo. Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South,* 1854. Henry Hughes, *A Treatise of Sociology,* 1854.

by his popular title of "the Calhoun of the Church."[11] It has been speculated that had he employed his influence against slavery, the Civil War might have been averted. Thornwell's social and political thought has a noteworthy historical significance and a continuing influence. Dr. L. C. LaMotte, in *Colored Light,* 1937, wrote that the Church today is facing much the same sort of social questions it did during Thornwell's day and that the principles stated by him should indicate the Church's present aim and plan of action.

On one occasion Thornwell seems to have impressed Calhoun with his learning in social and political matters. Thornwell's extant writings do not make it easy to establish the scope or nature of his studies along these lines. He referred to works in political philosophy by Brougham and by William Paley. His own social thought reflects something of the emphases set forth by Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson. At one point in his writings, however, Thornwell expressed open contempt for some of these thinkers' lesser works. The one source-book in social and political theory which he heartily recommended was Francis Lieber's *Political Ethics.*

Like others of his strenuous times, Thornwell was not as scholarly in his social thinking as he was in other lines. Nevertheless he obviously attempted to make his social and political thought strictly consistent with his ethical and religious theories. It is this fact which makes the inclusion of this aspect of his thinking pertinent to any consideration of his religious thought.

VI. Thornwell the Presbyterian Defender

Controversy was one of the characteristics of 19th century American religious thought. It was a time of sharp conflicts between Protestants and Catholics and between the various Protestant denominations. Bitter contentions were prominent features in the crude revival meetings. In a more refined way controversy was a dominant element in the religious journalism of the day.

There is no one aspect of Thornwell's religious thought more characteristic of him than a fondness for debate. Early in his

[11]L. G. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Church and the Federal Union, 1860-1869* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1932), p. 30.

ministry he enunciated the principle that a part of the Christian's duty was to resist with firmness every effort to corrupt the purity of the Church in doctrine and in discipline. In one of his last writings he affirmed that the genius of Presbyterianism was that it allowed for the discovery of truth by discussion without placing moral opprobrium upon persons who sincerely differ in their opinions. Throughout his life he proclaimed and practised the belief that discussion was God's appointed means for discovering error and removing it and for discovering truth and establishing it. Evidence alone, he insisted, should be the measure of assent.

Apart from his lectures in theology, most of Thornwell's writings are controversial. In no department of his thinking did he claim to be comprehensive. He stated as his aim in philosophy to say what is *not* rather than what *is* truth. The same may be said for much of his thought in other directions also. In philosophy he attacked the "rationalists" and the utilitarians. In theology he sought to counteract the theological implications of German idealism, Roman Catholicism, Pelagianism, Arminianism and Socinianism. In church polity he attempted to defend the two-kingdom theory of Church and State of the 16th century Puritans. In social philosophy he attacked the social contract theory of Hobbes, the racial pluralism of certain Southern social thinkers and the abolitionism of the North.

To state with some of Thornwell's warmest admirers that his religious thought has dominated the attitudes of Southern Presbyterians for the past hundred years may be too facile a generalization. Nevertheless to all who care to examine the records it will be clear that to him as to no other single thinker many Presbyterians of the South have gone back to get their philosophical, theological, social and political moorings. In that sense, therefore, it can be said that the religious thought of James Henley Thornwell has been normative during the past century for the theological and social development of a significant branch of American Presbyterianism.

D. L. MOODY

The Evangelist of the Nineteenth Century*

By the Rev. James Sprunt,
Pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Lynchburg, Virginia

The implication in this title is deliberate. And that it is a credible implication is seen in the statements of two men,—Dr. R. A. Torrey and Dr. Charles R. Erdman, both of whom knew Mr. Moody well. Dr. Torrey would by no means confine the unique superiority of Mr. Moody to the fact that he was *the evangelist.* He speaks of the birth in Northfield of the baby "who was to become *the greatest man,* as I believe, of his generation or of his century—Dwight L. Moody. After our great generals, great statesmen, great scientists and great men of letters have passed away and been forgotten and their work and its helpful influence has come to an end," he continues, "the work of D. L. Moody will go on and its saving influence continue and increase, bringing blessing not only to every State in the Union but to every nation on earth. Yes, it will continue throughout the ages of eternity."[1] Dr. Erdman begins his Smyth Lectures at Columbia Seminary on Moody with this encomium: "D. L. Moody, at the close of his life a generation ago, was the most famous and influential evangelist in the world. He addressed more hearers, prayed and pleaded with more individuals, enlisted more Christian converts and established more permanent centers of religious activity than any other preacher of modern times."[2] These two estimates will suffice to show that I am not unwarranted in my modest characterization of D. L. Moody as *the* evangelist of the 19th century.

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*A paper prepared for and read to the class in Evangelism at the Graduate Summer School of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, in August, 1942. The paper embraces many of the basic principles of evangelism emphasized in the course, which was taught by Dr. Donald W. Richardson, Professor of Christian Missions in the Seminary.

[1] *Why God Used D. L. Moody.* R. A. Torrey. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, p. 5. (Cited hereafter as R. A. T.)

[2] *D. L. Moody: His Message for Today.* C. R. Erdman. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, p. 11. (Cited hereafter as C. R. E.)

I. The Man

More than fifty biographies of Mr. Moody have been written, said his son Paul in 1938, when he set himself to writing his recollections of his father. Of these biographies I have read but six in the preparation of this paper, but these present such a staggering amount of material that it is manifestly impossible for me to do more than present short glimpses of this dynamic person who "worked so furiously, spoke so passionately and swept across Britain and America so frequently, that he seemed to pass all his days in an unceasing cyclone."[3] And these short glimpses are selected with the special purpose of illustrating and clarifying in and through this one man some of the abiding principles and practices of evangelism which we have been considering together in these days.

Dr. Richard Ellsworth Day, in his altogether delightful biography of Mr. Moody, *Bush Aglow,* written expressly for the Moody Centennial in 1937, devotes his first four chapters to the home background and antecedents of the man whom he styles "The Commoner of Northfield." However, I prefer to follow Moody's own counsel in this respect, though not for the reason that he gave when he said, "Never mind the ancestry! A man I once heard of was ambitious to trace his family to the Mayflower, and he stumbled over a horse-thief. Never mind a man's ancestry!"[4] Suffice it to say that his was a poor and humble, but godly, home in Northfield. He was brought up close to the soil and to people and ever loved them both. Some one has said that there never was a good man who had not a good mother, and this can most certainly be said of D. L. Moody. His mother lived to the ripe old age of 91 and was accorded to the end the loving devotion and admiration of her distinguished son, whom she preceded to the Glory Land by less than four years. The love and tender associations of his boyhood home were carried over and intensified in Moody's own home, which he established within a stone's throw of his birthplace at Northfield. He terminated his preaching mis-

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[3]C. R. E., p. 11.

[4]*The Life of Dwight L. Moody.* W. R. Moody. First Edition. The Macmillan Co., New York, p. 17. (Cited hereafter as W. R. M.)

sions across the country by always heading for the seclusion and quiet of his haven at Northfield and looked forward to these homecomings with an eagerness difficult for him to control. It is an entirely winsome picture which his son Paul paints of his father in his too infrequent times of relaxation in the bosom of his family. A sentence or so will give a necessary snapshot of the man. "What most characterized him when he was home," wrote Paul Moody, "was a sort of camaraderie. I do not know a word which indicates the opposite of what the younger generation describes as a 'stuffed shirt.' If I did I should use that in describing my father . . . He was a stout and bearded Peter Pan, a boy who never grew up when he was on vacation."[5] His son's book is full of those "little nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and love" that make up the "best portion of a good man's life."

Moody had but little in the way of formal education, and his days in the schoolhouse seem to have been chiefly occupied with devising new pranks on his teachers and classmates. His religious instruction in the home was exceedingly elementary. He was taught to love and honor and worship God, and his mother passed on to her children her own devotional spirit and adherence to Puritan ethics, but the struggle to live was too severe, and her own Biblical knowledge too limited, to allow her to instruct her children in the systematic knowledge of the Word. "Of this D. L. once spoke with pathos to Spurgeon: 'You have the advantage of hearing these matters from your youth up, while I must laboriously seek them out.' "[6] When this awkward, unschooled country lad of Northfield went to the big city of Boston at the age of seventeen to make his way in the world, none could have been less promising than he. But he started out in the right way. He fulfilled his promise to his uncle, for whom he worked as a clerk, to go to Sunday School regularly, and he attended the Mount Vernon Church, "an excellent and exact Congregational body," but he was embarrassed in his class by his lack

[5] *My Father.* Paul D. Moody. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, pp. 26-27. (Cited hereafter as P. D. M.)

[6] *Bush Aglow.* R. E. Day. The Judson Press, Philadelphia, p. 42. (Cited hereafter as R. E. D.)

of familiarity with the Bible. He had been in the class a year before the teacher, Mr. Edward Kimball, felt any call of God to speak to the crude, uncultured lad about the claims of Christ. But, thank God, he was obedient to the heavenly vision—what if he had not been? Thus does Dr. Day describe that momentous event which caused the angels to rejoice around the throne of God. One morning in the spring of 1855 Mr. Kimball "went down to the Holton store determined to speak to D. L. about his soul. 'I made a dash for it so to have it over at once.' D. L. was in the back of the building wrapping up shoes. He looked small enough, with his one hundred and thirty-five pounds (he had 145 yet to come!), mass of black hair overdue at the barber-shop, full lips, heavy eyebrows, and dreamful brown eyes; quick, vigorous motions like a Maricopa quail. Kimball put his hand on his shoulder and made, as he thought, 'a weak appeal.' Years later he said, 'I never could remember just what I did say: something about Christ and His love; that was all.' But the heart of the future prince of God lingered a thousand times on that sweet moment."[7] Again and again he was to say, "I can feel his hand yet!" For in that moment he was laid hold on of Christ Jesus, and when the bells of Boston rang in the hour of noon that day, they but accompanied the bells of heaven ringing in the heart of young D. L. Moody, a new creature in Christ Jesus.

His uniting with the Mount Vernon Church is, in contrast, an interesting sidelight upon our own methods today. The month after his acceptance of Christ at the invitation of his Sunday School teacher, he presented himself for membership in the church. This is the minute of the examining committee: "No. 1,079. Dwight L. Moody. Boards, 43 Court Street. Has been baptized. First awakened on the 16th of May. Became anxious about himself Saw himself a sinner, and sin now seems hateful and holiness desirable. Thinks he has repented; has purposed to give up sin; feels dependent upon Christ for forgiveness. Loves the Scriptures. Prays. Desires to be useful. Religiously educated. Been in the city a year. From Northfield, this State. Is not ashamed to be

[7] R. E. D., pp. 64, 65.

known as a Christian. Eighteen years old."[8] What would our Sessions have done in such a case? I am afraid that some would not have gone this far in the examination of an eager young candidate of eighteen. But in those days, days to which, I am persuaded, we need to return in spirit, it was not so fatally facile a task to get into the church of Christ. The examiners turned him down and appointed three of their number to explain to him more perfectly the way of God. As a consequence, when he came up again for admission, not discouraged but more determined, the result was different, as we read in the following minute: "No. 1,131. March 12, 1856. Mr. Moody thinks that he has made some progress since he was here before—at least in knowledge. Has maintained his habits of prayer and reading the Bible. Believes God will hear his prayers, and reads the Bible. Is fully determined to adhere to the cause of Christ always. Feels that it would be very bad if he should join the church and then turn. Must repent and ask forgiveness for Christ's sake. Will never give up his hope, or love Christ less, whether admitted to the church or not. His prevailing intention is to give up his will to God."[9] Upon this second hearing the careful examiners received him into the membership of the church, and thus Dwight Moody became a fully enrolled soldier in the legions of his Lord. For two years he grew in grace and stature in Christ and in his business life, and then departed for the metropolis of the West, the young, thriving, near-frontier city of Chicago.

It is not my purpose to tell of the increasingly prodigious amount of Christian work which young Moody did in Chicago, at first as a side-line in his spare time, then more and more giving his whole time to the work of Christ. The beginning, however, will serve to indicate the growing trend in his life. With characteristic zeal he immediately joined a church—the Plymouth Church—and soon was renting four pews therein which he filled regularly each Sunday with young men whom he gathered in from street corners, boarding-houses and even saloons. His leisure hours on Sunday afternoons he began to devote to Sunday School work. He found a lit-

[8]W. R. M., p. 43.
[9]W. R. M., p. 44.

tle mission on North Wells Street and applied for a class which he might teach. Consider our difficulties in finding Sunday School teachers today! However, "the supply of teachers at that time was in excess of scholars, and the applicant was told that the sixteen teachers were found amply sufficient to instruct twelve children, but that they would welcome his services if he could provide his own class. This was exactly to young Moody's taste, and on the following Sunday he arrived at the school leading a procession of eighteen little 'hoodlums' that he had gathered. This success made his special calling clear to him, and he continued to gather new scholars for others to teach, feeling that he was not sufficiently gifted for that work himself."[10] Soon he was establishing a new mission in another part of town and renting for the purpose a large hall, which was soon taxed to its utmost capacity, a mission which developed into the Illinois Street Church, afterward the Chicago Avenue Church and now the great Moody Memorial Church, of which Dr. R. A. Ironside is pastor. Of those energetic, formative days I can only say that as Moody grew in the work, and the work under him grew, he realized the more that this was his true calling. He was making what was then a splendid salary and a really fabulous success in business as a salesman, but he finally determined to give it all up to do the work of Christ, a decision concurred in fully by his 19-year-old bride, Emma C. Revell, whom two years before he had met in his first Sunday School work. Thus "Crazy Moody," as he was called, entered upon his work as a city missionary, president of the Y. M. C. A. and unordained pastor, "with no Board at his back, no society to guarantee his salary: his dependence on God."[11] Time would fail to speak of all these energetic years and labors. It must suffice to say that in this preparatory period the sword was being sharpened and polished which was to be used so skillfully and gloriously as a weapon in the hand of the King. Nor have I the time to continue any sort of historical or chronological account of Moody's life. I must refer you to the definitive biography by his son Will R. Moody for the amazing saga of Moody's career. We shall have to pass over any

[10]W. R. M., p. 55.
[11]W. R. M., p. 74.

mention of his work on the Christian Commission in the Civil War; his Sunday School Convention work, which first brought him into some prominence; his early evangelistic labors, and his leadership in Christian Association work. It was this identification with Sunday School and Y. M. C. A. work which enabled Moody to find an entrée in England in 1867 when he went over with his wife, to seek the cure of her asthma. There he made connections which influenced his return in 1872. In 1873-1875 he had his first extended campaign in England and Scotland, one which made him famous the world over. From then on his life was one strenuous campaign after another, when as a brilliant and shining light he toured America and the British Isles and spoke so winsomely and passionately for His Lord that his like shall possibly never be seeen on earth again.

Let me now point out a few of the outstanding personal characteristics of Moody the man.

The mention of his being a man brings to mind the fact of his great bodily strength. He was a man in every sense of the word. He had to be, to take the incredible strain of his busy years. To be sure, he finally wore his great heart out, but he had a grand time in the process. Not the least of the God-given qualities of D. L. Moody was his rare physical strength. "His muscles were like iron, and his nerves were as steel. For some thirty years he was able to stand a strain equal to which few men of his (or any) generation were submitted, and which few men in any age could have endured. Day after day, and night after night, he addressed gatherings of thousands and tens of thousands. He travelled incessantly. He planned and prayed and preached. He pleaded with the impenitent for the salvation of their souls; and he pried money out of the pockets of the rich for the support of his schools. He led his great summer conferences and conducted his winter campaigns. He was tireless in his ceaseless labors, and when his co-workers were exhausted he was in fine form for another task."[12] He needed but little sleep, and he could sleep a little anywhere and at any time. Moreover, as his son Paul discloses, "he never seemed

[12]C. R. E., pp. 23, 24.

to worry and he appeared to dismiss what was done when it was over."[13] And not a little of the secret is revealed in his further words, "My mother spared and shielded him to the limit of her ability."

D. L. Moody, with all of his fame, was one of the humblest of men. "I think D. L. Moody was the humblest man I ever knew in all my life," says Dr. Torrey, and he offers this as one of his reasons "Why God Used D. L. Moody."[14] I believe it was Augustine who when asked what was the first virtue of a Christian replied, "Humility." "And the second?" "Humility." "And the third?" "Humility." All biographers of Moody agree that this primary Christian virtue was clearly evident in his character. Moody was forever putting others ahead of himself. Again and again on a platform with other and lesser lights, he would say, sincerely, "There are better men coming after me." Gamaliel Bradford would put a subtle question-mark behind it, but such a suspicion was, as far as I can see, unfounded.[15] Dr. Charles F. Goss cites the fact that Moody shrank from the idea of his biography being written, with the statement, "I do not know of anything that can be said of my life that would interest people."[16] And he meant it. Yet within two years of that time he was offered $25,000 for his autobiography, and when in New York was offered $10,000 for a two hour interview by an agent of one of the great metropolitan dailies. "He constantly underestimated himself and overestimated others," says Dr. Torrey. There is no little of his own opinion of himself in this excerpt from a Hippodrome sermon in 1876: "When God wants to move a mountain, He does not take a bar of iron, but He takes a little worm. . . . Some one said, 'I cannot be anything more than a farthing rushlight.' Well, be that! that is enough."[17] I recall from years back that Moody's description of Moses is "what God can do with a Somebody who was willing to be a Nobody." In his own sight, D. L. was a Nobody, and so God could make him a Somebody. In his cam-

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[13]P. D. M., p. 121.
[14]R. A. T., p. 27.
[15]*D. L. Moody: A Worker in Souls.* Gamaliel Bradford. Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, p. 128. (Cited hereafter as G. B.)
[16]*Echoes from the Pulpit and Platform.* C. R. Goss. P. 90.
[17]R. E. D., p. 184.

paign in Brooklyn he made the characteristic remark, "I am the most overestimated man in this country. For some reason the people look upon me as a great man, but I am only a lay preacher, and have little learning."[18] But although Moody had a modest opinion of himself, he was never servile and obsequious to the so-called great of the world. His son relates that on one of his earlier trips to England he received a most impressive introduction to a high dignitary, a member of the House of Lords, as he was beginning a service in a crowded hall. "Glad to meet you, Lord .....," was his brusque acknowledgment, "won't you please give those old ladies a seat down there in the middle aisle?" pointing to two women who had just entered.[19]

As a complement of his true humility we see his inflexible determination. He well fulfilled the ideal in Oxenham's lines:

> "Who answers Christ's insistent call
> Must give himself, his life, his all
> Without one backward look . . . ."

He could have said of himself what Paul asserted, "For to me to live is Christ." "This one thing I do," writes his son Will, "was the key to his life of service."[20] He possessed that essential ingredient of successful evangelism—concentration of aim. The summation of that aim is seen in the words of a friend of Moody concerning a conversation with him one day, which Dr. Rufus Clark records. "The distinct impression left upon my mind," said this friend, "was that this man thinks of nothing, plans for nothing, but Christ and souls."[21] He had set his hand to the plow, and he worked through to the end.

Let me mention one other personal trait. "It has been said of Mr. Moody that his most prominent characteristic was his 'consecrated common sense.'" This gift of God served to keep his feet on the ground and to guide him into the ways of sanity and equilibrium. It kept him from flying off on tangents, as so many preachers and evangelists have done. For instance, as Dr. Day

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[18]W. R. M., p. 506.
[19]W. R. M., p. 507.
[20]W. R. M., p. 502.
[21]*The Work of God in Great Britain Under Messrs. Moody and Sankey, 1873 to 1875.* R. W. Clark. Harper & Brothers, New York, p. 34.

puts it in his striking way, "He never let the Dry Camel nose him out of Evangel's Tent. Francis E. Willard said, 'There's not sufficient temperance spirit in your meetings.' D. L. replied, 'If men are thoroughly regenerated, there's no use of the multitudinous measures you're advocating!' 'After all, the only hope is that the Son of God has come to destroy man's appetite for drink.'"[22] This consecrated common sense kept him steady and above-board in dealing with sham and hypocrisy and bores. His directness in such situations fairly took away the breath of many of his English hearers in his first visits to Great Britain. His common sense caused him to fear getting into a rut as most folk would fear the grave. "Don't get in a rut," he cried, "I abominate ruts. Perhaps I dread them too much, but there is nothing I fear more."[23] His common sense prompted him to lay hold eagerly of new methods that promised to put forward the work of Christ and the saving of immortal souls. How Moody would have rejoiced in dedicating the wonders of the radio and the airplane to such service! He did make use of the press, however, and any other method which did not savor of sensationalism, to advertise and promote his work. Dr. Torrey tells of riding with Moody one day on a street-car in Chicago and being stopped by a great milling throng of people at the City Hall. "Mr. Moody," he writes, "turned to me and said, 'Torrey, what does this mean?' 'Why,' I said, 'Carter Harrison's body lies there in state in the City Hall and these crowds are waiting to see it.' Then he said, 'This will never do, to let these crowds get away from us without preaching to them; we must talk to them. You go and hire Hooley's Opera House [which was just opposite the City Hall] for the whole day.' I did so. The meetings began at nine in the morning, and we had one continuous service from that hour until six in the evening, to reach those crowds."[24] Moody's common sense made him dependable in his judgments of men and situations. He often went directly counter to the advice of his associates, but almost without exception his judgment was vindicated, even in the taking of such risks as the founding of the Bible Institute Colportage

[22]R. E. D., p. 214.
[23]W. R. M., p. 213.
[24]R. A. T., pp. 44, 45.

Association, a project which none of his friends thought could be financially possible or successful.

There are many other prominent characteristiss which will come out as we go on to other topics, the next of which will be, in general, his Message.

II. The Message

God called Moody the man, and He gave him a message, a message of the saving grace and love of God through the atoning death of Jesus Christ His Son upon the cross, a message which was to be preached for the salvation of great hosts across the world.

First and foremost in any consideration of the message which this notable herald of God proclaimed is the realization that he preached the Word, in season and out of season. "Mr. Moody was a preacher of the Bible," Dr. Erdman observes. "It is to this fact that his success is largely attributed. He spoke of Bible characters, of Bible parables, of Bible incidents, of Bible truths. He was saturated with the teachings of the Scriptures, and he was ever seeking to make others read and study and teach the Bible."[25] This message flowed naturally from his own love and knowledge of the Scriptures. For Moody was, throughout his Christian life, as Dr. Torrey well points out, "a deep and practical student of the Word of God." He was not educated in the usual sense of the word, but he was a real student of the content of the Book of Books. This knowledge he came by through diligent endeavor. And this meant, for the most part, rising at 4 a. m. for two hours of Bible study daily. "He would say, 'If I am going to get in any Bible study, I have got to get up before the rest of the folks get up.' And when he studied the Bible, he studied the *Bible*. 'I pore over the pages, not through the specs of some learned commentator, but with my own eyes."[26] It was young Henry Moorehouse who turned Moody toward the Word of God afresh when he said to him in 1867, "Moody, you're sailing on the wrong track! If you will change your course, and learn to preach God's words instead your own, He will make you a great power." And he did, and

[25]C. R. E., p. 82.
[26]R. E. D., p. 204.

God did! And toward the end of his life it lay heavily on his heart to encourage and exhort the ministry to follow in this course. At a meeting in Northern California he cried, "Don't be deceived. The coming preacher will be the one who takes the Word of God and maks it plain to the people. That man will have a hearing! The Bible and the Cross have power to draw, but a moral essay, never! I'm sick and tired of their essay preaching. Will Bible preaching ever fail? No, a thousand times, No! Highly cultured people ask me in surprise if there are those who really believe the Bible. Well, I guess so! If the minister who stands in the pulpit from week to week is full of the Bible and the Holy Ghost, people will be sitting in the aisles and crowding every available space, just as they are in this building today!"[27] We who are ministers of the Word today need to heed that, and also those other words of Moody and his associate and friend, R. A. Torrey. "What we need today," said Moody, "is men who believe in the Bible from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet: who believe in the whole of it, the things they understand, and the things they do not understand."[28] And, said Torrey, "Ninety-nine Christians in every hundred are merely playing at Bible study; and, therefore, ninety-nine Christians in every hundred are mere weaklings when they might be giants, both in their Christian life and in their service."[29]

Moody's message, based on the Bible, was a positive message. "With negations he had little to do. He avoided religious controversy and believed it did more harm than good. He made great affirmations and set them forth with deep conviction, but he spent little time in dealing with those who differed."[30] He preached what he believed and aired no doubts. If he had any trouble with the destructive critics of his day, he never gave vent to any uncertainties in his preaching. I recall reading years ago that a young preacher undertook to ask him if he believed in the theory of two Isaiahs, and Moody replied, "I'm not concerned about that; most people never heard of any Isaiah."

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[27]R. E. D., pp. 234, 235.
[28]R. E. D., p. 210.
[29]R. A. T., p. 19.
[30]C. R. E., p. 84.

Another mark of Moody's message was its simplicity. He was not given, as are some present-day would-be pulpiteers (perish the word!), to perorations of "rhetorical abracadabra and excessive sesquipedalian verbiage." Rather hear this estimate of Moody's preaching by his companion, Ira D. Sankey: "One of the greatest compliments to his preaching was that the sermon that would hold the rapt attention of the most intelligent of his congregation would also be lisened to with the same eagerness by the children present. Any one—every one—understood what he said. His meaning was clear to every child. It was also convincing to the old. No other preacher ever mastered this art—if anything connected with Mr. Moody can be called an art—of reaching the understanding of the old and young at the same time. His simplicity of language was remarkable."[31]

Another mark of Moody's message was its urgency. He preached for a decision on the part of his hearers, and a decision now. He sought an immediate surrender to the claims of Christ. "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation" was his appeal. He made men feel the peril of delay because he felt it in his own heart. He never quite recovered from his sense of regret that on the very evening of the breaking out of the Great Fire of Chicago in 1871 he dismissed a large congregation with the exhortation to think it over during the week and come back prepared to accept Christ the next Sunday. For many in that audience that night there was no next Sunday, and there certainly was no meeting place upon that spot. Ever after that he was impressed with the necessity of the Now.

Still another hallmark of the message of Moody was its picturesqueness. He followed the example of his beloved master Teacher, and "without a parable spake he not unto them." As Dr. Erdman points out, "He made large use of anecdote and illustration. These were gathered from a wide field, but more commonly they came from one or two sources, either from his own experience or from some incident of Scripture."[32] His stories helped,

[31]W. R. M., p. 512.
[32]C. R. E., p. 84.

not hurt, his message from the Book. They illumined, enlivened and inspired. They were never used for their own sake.

It would not have been characteristic of Moody if it had not been a loving message. He was always kindly and sympathetic in his approach, never, as we are tempted to be sometimes, pugnacious. "Moody made men feel that he loved them," says one writer, "and he did love them. That was the secret of his power, if there was any secret."[33] (It is really extraordinary how many different "secrets" of his power have been discovered!) Dr. R. W. Dale, the great English preacher, "did not believe much in evangelists, but he had a profound respect for Mr. Moody, and consired that he had a right to preach the Gospel, 'because he could never speak of a lost soul without tears in his voice.' "[34]

The paramount mark of the message Moody brought to men, however, was the fact that it was Christo-centric. His was a Christian message in that the heart and sum and core of it was Christ. "If you had asked him," says Erdman, "whether he believed in the 'divinity of Christ,' he might have replied as did Beecher: 'Why, I do not believe in anything else.' "[35] He preached "Jesus Christ and Him crucified," but he preached no dead Christ of the far-off past. He went on to the resurrection, and held before men a living, triumphant Christ. "His theology was organized about two great facts—Christ *died* for our salvation, and *rose* for our justification. Everything else was subordinate."[36] In a pre-campaign meeting of clergymen in London, held to give an opportunity for the settlement of any misgivings on their part as to the conduct of the campaign, one of the ministers asked Moody to print his creed before he came to London. "My creed is in print," was his ready response. "Where?" was the general inquiry, as many reached for their note-books. "In the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah," he said. Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, himself a great evangelist, and a man who was brought to the fulness of assurance in Christ by Moody, wrote a hymn which I recall having heard sung in his meetings in Montreat when I was a boy. I have

[33]C. R. E., p. 100.
[34]W. R. M., p. 219.
[35]C. R. E., p. 90.
[36]R. E. D., p. 213.

always loved it. It sums up in a splendid way the main tenets of the message of Moody concerning his blessed Lord:

"Living, He loved me; dying, He saved me;
Buried, He carried my sins far away;
Risen, He justifies freely, forever;
One day He's coming: Oh, glorious day!"

III. The Method

Coming now to the methods which were used so successfully by this notable man of God, one must give first place, because of its foundational aspect, to prayer. D. L. Moody believed with all his heart that revivals could not be worked up but prayed down. Dr. R. A. Torrey. who knew Moody as few men did, declares: "Moody was a wonderful preacher . . . but out of a very intimate acquaintance with him I wish to testify that he was a far greater pray-er than he was a preacher. Time and time again he was confronted by obstacles that seemed insurmountable, but he always knew the way to surmount and to overcome all difficulties. He knew the way to bring to pass anything that needed to be brought to pass. He knew and believed in the deepest depths of his soul that 'nothing was too hard for the Lord' and that prayer could do anything that God could do."[37] D. L. believed in prayer and was a man of many and earnest prayers, but he was not given to much prayer. I mean by that that he was not among those who can, or claim to, "wrestle all night in prayer." He paved the way of evangelism by prayer, and prayed for definite objects in believing and successful prayer, but he was not a man of long prayers, either in private or public. Particularly did he dislike the latter, and he often remarked that those who were longest in public prayer were most apt to be making up then what they lacked in private devotions. His son Paul recalled that his father "used to say that the first five minutes of a prayer he joined in thought with the petitioner. To the second five minutes he was passive, and then he prayed that his long-winded brother would stop."[38] We have all doubtless heard of the way in which the gallant Sir Wilfred Grenfell of Labrador, then a young medical student in London,

[37]R. A. T., p. 12.
[38]P. D. M., p. 95.

was caught for Christ by Moody's irregularity in this respect. He had dropped into a Moody and Sankey tent meeting in the Shadwell district of London when returning from an out-patient case one night, and being but casually interested, when a tedious prayer-bore began a long oration he started to leave. "Suddenly," as he himself described it, "the leader, who I learned afterwards was D. L. Moody, called out to the audience: 'Let us sing a hymn while our brother finishes his prayer.' His practicality interested me and I stayed the service out. When eventually I left, it was with a determination either to make religion a real effort to do as I thought Christ would do in my place as a doctor, or frankly abandon it."[39] And, as all the world knows, that decision was made for Christ and Christian service.

Another feature of the methods used by Moody was specific preparation for all his work. He left nothing to the spur of the moment which could and should be cared for adequately beforehand. He prepared his sermons diligently and carefully. He made every preparation possible for his campaigns in every place, with the forethought of a good general. Prayer-meetings were held regularly and importunately. In fact, noon-day prayer-meetings continued in some cities for years after his campaign ceased. Great care was exercised in the selection and equipping of a place to meet, and ushers and choirs were carefully schooled before the preaching services were started. He employed all legitimate means of advertising. He inspired helpers who, as far as was humanly possible, left nothing to chance in the building of a highway upon which the evangel could advance.

As another means of preparation as well as inspiration, Moody made great use of sacred song. Dr. Erdman wisely observes that "it is a suprising fact that a man who could not sing, who, indeed, could not distinguish one tune from another, set more people singing and gave a wider circulation to sacred songs than any musician or composer of his age. This Mr. Moody did by enlisting and encouraging leaders and writers of hymns, by gathering huge audiences of people to whom their compositions could be taught, and by publishing and circulating books (by the millions) which car-

[39] C. R. E., p. 147.

ried their words and melodies to all the lands of the world."[40] I cannot now list all the men who thus helped Moody so signally, and whom he in turned helped to become famous. We sing many of their hymns today. The best known, of course, was Ira D. Sankey, with whom Moody was first and longest associated. Dr. Edward Mack told me once that he knew of a lad in Charleston, South Carolina, who grew to young manhood before he ever realized that "rice'n gravy" were more than one word. I can almost say the same of myself. Certainly it might be almost said that so close were Moody and his chief singer in their work that their names were woven into one, and they became "Moody'n Sankey." Yes, Moody believed most assuredly in the preparing, penetrating, unifying, molding, compelling power of sacred song. What would I give today to be able to hear Sankey's golden voice singing

> "There were ninety and nine that safely lay
> In the shelter of the fold.
> But one was out on the hills away,
> Far off from the gates of gold . . . !"

Following the preparation and unification of singing, the method of D. L. Moody was what will always be to some the "foolishness" of preaching but which was to countless thousands the power of God unto salvation. We have thought something of the kind of message he brought. It only remains to be said that he brought it with all the vigor and power of his virile, Spirit-filled life. Moody was largely uncultured and unlettered, but like Shakespeare he knew the power of the spoken word. But whereas "Shakespeare could weave words together for the delight of millions, Moody could pour them out so that thousands had their souls stirred and shaken by them like leaves in an autumn wind."[41] As one hearer in Scotland described the process during his first campaign in Edinburgh, (the Rev. Andrew Thompson, of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church), Moody's evangel "is spoken with most impressive directness, not as by a man half convinced and who seems always to feel that a skeptic is looking over his shoulder, but with a certainty of the truth of what he says, as if, like our own Andrew Fuller, 'he could venture his eternity on it'; as if he felt

[40]C. R. E., p. 104.
[41]G. B., p. 115.

that 'if he did not speak the very stones would cry out.' "[42] In the intensity of such preaching, Moody quite lost himself, and the words came pouring out like a torrent. "His utterance was very rapid, frequently at the rate of more than two hundred words to the minute, which is nearly twice the speed of most speakers."[43] His words were fired in short, pungent sentences. "Moody," computes Dr. Goss, "uttered thirty-six sentences to Spurgeon's twenty-one, to Bushnell's twenty, and to Chalmers' nine."[44] Moody's language was that of daily life and of the man in the ordinary rounds of life. It is not surprising that the unlettered New England Yankeeisms of his youth should characterize his spoken message—quite deleted, by the way, in his printed sermons of today but faithfully recorded in the stenographic newspaper reports of that time. Grammatical errors, colloquialisms and elisions were not uncommon. To the great host of his hearers these were as nothing to the message itself, but to his critics they were always fresh meat for the feast. One such critic, a Unitarian, in savage humor wrote, "Oh, the way that man does mangle the English tongue! The daily slaughter of syntax at the Tabernacle is dreadful. His enunciations may be pious, but his pronunciations are decidedly off color. It is enough to make Noah Webster turn over in his grave and weep to think that he lived in vain:"[45] But the common people and the great-hearted heard him gladly. "Dr. Pentecost remarked in public: 'Anyone who can pronounce Jerusalem in two syllables can do almost anything."[46] Spurgeon, who loved Moody dearly, went that one better by saying that his Northfield friend was "the only man I ever knew who said Mesopotamia in one syllable.' "[47] But it was Spurgeon who summed up the attitude of all the devotees of Moody on this point by his characteristic comment: "I thank God there is one man in such hot haste to get the Gospel to the people that he does not stop to pronounce all the syllables of every word."[48] Moody's speech was

[42]W. R. M., p. 184.
[43]C. R. E., p. 98.
[44]G. B., p. 105.
[45]G. B., p. 104.
[46]C. R. E., p. 98.
[47]R. E. D., p. 224.
[48]C. R. E., p, 99.

inadequate, and he knew and deplored it, but his attitude was well revealed in his answer to a critic who suggested to him that he ought not to speak in public. "You make too many mistakes in grammar," the man complained. "I know I make mistakes," Moody replied, "and I lack a great many things, but I'm doing the best with what I've got." Then he added, "Look here, friend, you've got grammar enough—what are you doing with it for the Master?"[49]

But of all the methods of Moody in his great work for the Lord his constant passion was personal evangelism. Once in his earlier days in Chicago he stepped up to a man on the street, a perfect stranger, and asked him his perennial question: "Sir, are you a Christian?" "You mind your own business," was the curt reply. "I am minding my business," Moody quietly replied. "Then," said the man, "you must be D. L. Moody." It was as essential to him as breathing to be about his Father's business with the message of redemption. What mattered if they did call him "Crazy Moody"? It was the rule of his life to speak to at least one person a day about Christ and the way of life, and many and varied were his approaches to souls concerning their Saviour. Woodrow Wilson used to love to tell of an experience he had of Moody's methods. He said that he went one day to a barber shop and took a chair next to one being occupied by D. L. Moody, though he did not know at the moment who was there. He had not been there long before he knew, as Mr. Wilson put it, that "there was a personality in the other chair." Then he listened while Mr. Moody simply and earnestly called the barber to the Way of Life in Christ Jesus. Wilson never forgot that scene. "I purposely lingered in the room," he wrote, "after he left, and noted the singular effect his visit had upon the barbers in the shop. They talked in undertones. They did not know his name, but they knew that something had elevated their thought. And I felt that I left that place as I should have left a house of worship."[50] Everywhere he went, this was the ruling passion of Moody's life, and he spoke to men and women about Christ not because he

[49]W. R. M., p. 61.

[50]*Dwight L. Moody: The Discoverer of Men and the Maker of Events.* John McDowell. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. Quoted by G. B., p. 283.

felt he had to as much as for the sheer joy it brought to his soul. His eyes and heart had been opened to this avenue of radiant service by one of his own Sunday School teachers and never thereafter did he lose the sweet savor of it. "It is the greatest pleasure of living to win souls to Christ," he said, "and it is a pleasure that the angels can't enjoy."[51] Moody's counsel to the International Sunday School Convention at Boston three years before his death might well be heard and heeded by us all: "If I had the trumpet of God and could speak to every Sunday School teacher in America, I would plead with each one to lead at least one soul to Christ this year!"[52] Oh, that his appeal could be fully realized!

Having considered the fact of the urgency of Moody's message, we must now consider his method of achieving decisions. This indeed was but another phase of personal evangelism. I refer to his use of the "Inquiry Room." "Moody regarded the Inquiry Room," writes Dr. Day, "as the polished shaft in his evangelical quiver." It was the heart and center of his organized work for the winning of souls. He did not, as Billy Sunday was to do so successfully, call for repentant sinners to "hit the sawdust trail" and come to the front to take his hand. Nor did he go to the other extreme, as we sometimes do, and invite folk to come and talk with us or our sessions about their souls if they feel so inclined. Moody's views on that method are clear: "I knew a stupid minister who said that if anyone *might* be interested, the *session* would meet him. Might as well have asked him to go before a justice of the peace! If you want to get to an awakened soul, make it easy for him to see you alone."[53] Moody's use of the Inquiry Room made that opportunity available to all. In brief it was this: a room was prepared and equipped for any number of those who were concerned about themselves and their spiritual needs and who, awakened by the public preaching of the Word, desired to talk with someone able to meet their need, immediately. It functioned immediately upon the close of the preaching service. Moody himself was in charge, but it was here that his consecrated

[51]G. B., p. 300.
[52]C. R. E., p. 34.
[53]R. E. D., p. 243.

assistants were of greatest value to him. He would speak briefly and pointedly, and then the rest of the time, as long as necessary, was given over to personal work with individuals on the part of Moody and his helpers. He insisted on having only those to help whose characters were beyond reproach, who were certain of their own salvation and who had a working knowledge of the Word of God. His instructions to these workers were: "Hear closely the difficulties of each; plead with the Spirit for just the right word. In every case use your Bible; don't just trust to memory; make the person read for himself. *And don't argue!* Get him at last on his knees: you may need to talk two hours: *but don't get him on his knees until he is ready!*[54] This method meant exhausting toil, but it was eminently successful. In this laboratory of "individual work for individuals" thousands upon thousands were brought into the saving knowledge of the Lord Christ. The only difficulty he ever had with it was in finding a sufficient number of consecrated, able men and women to deal with the needy souls who crowded the Inquiry Room day after day.

One more brief word about his methods. D. L. Moody was singularly free from the taint which has marred the ministry and methods of many evangelists,—a love of money. Mr. Moody had the gift of getting money, as John R. Mott seems to have, from those who have much. But, as Dr. Torrey puts it, "he loved to gather money for *God's* work: he refused to accumulate money for himself."[55] The royalties from the various editions of his hymn-books issued during his campaigns would have mounted to more than a million dollars alone. But Moody refused to touch the money for himself. "He lived simply, educated his family, provided for his wife, and died with only $500 to his credit."[56] Here again Mrs. Moody helped by handling the family funds. "My father," says his son Paul, "never in my time had a bank account, or wrote a check . . . No human being could be more indifferent to it [money] than he was."[57] "Millions of dollars passed into Mr. Moody's hands," writes Torrey, *"but they passed through;*

[54]R. E. D., p. 246.
[55]R. A. T., p. 33.
[56]C. R. E., p. 103.
[57]P. D. M., p. 61.

they did not stick to his fingers."[58] Great sums were used immediately for some benevolent or educational or evangelistic purpose. Many and involved were his business enterprises, but they were all for the Kingdom of God and not for himself.

IV. The Magneto

Having now thought, all too superficially, of the man, his message and his method, let us think of what I shall call, for the sake of alliteration, his Magneto. Think with me now of the spark of power that sent him along his triumphant way for Christ. Let us also seek to find the "secret" of his power and achievement. As I see it, it is not difficult to discover. It is, in fact, inescapable. Dr. R. A. Torrey has laid his finger precisely upon it when he cites, as the first reason in his book, *Why God Used D. L. Moody,* that Dwight L. Moody was a fully surrendered man. As Torrey puts it, "Every ounce of that two-hundred-and-eighty pound body of his belonged to God; everything he was, and everything he had, belonged wholly to God."[59] He did not stop short of absolute and entire obedience to the will of God. He was like the bush that burned and yet was not consumed because the presence and power of the living God was inherent in it. It was for this reason that Dr. Day called his centennial biography *Bush Aglow.* Moody was an instrument wholly yielded to the hand of God. His life and labors could truly be set forth in the simple statement, "My human best, filled with the Holy Spirit."

During the Dublin Conference, on his second trip to Great Britain in 1872, Moody heard Henry Varley make the quiet statement, "The world has yet to see what God can do with and for and through and in a man who is fully and wholly consecrated to Him."[60] That remark made a profound impression upon Moody, and thinking it over and over, in Spurgeon's Tabernacle, two days later, he determined by the grace of God to be such a man. Now it can no longer be said that the world has *yet* to see what God can do with and for and through and in such a surrendered man,

[58] R. A. T., p. 36.
[59] R. A. T., p. 8.
[60] R. E. D., p. 150.

for we have a clear demonstration of that phenomenon in Dwight L. Moody. What our world needs, and needs most desperately, are further demonstrations of that age-old power of the Holy Spirit in full possession of the human heart. And Moody is calling to us in our day, when he said, "The days of the Lord's power will come again! Lo, to this end he doth require, more than anything in the world, men and women on fire with the Fire of Heaven: not great men, but true, honest persons He can use!"[61]

V. The Magnetism

And now this final word—on the note upon which we began. One of the most striking facts about the life and work of Dwight L. Moody is the abiding influence of his work for Christ. The magnetism of Moody is still drawing men and women to the Lord he loved and served so well. Eternity alone will reveal the influence that Moody wielded for Christ in the souls of the millions to whom he preached so powerfully and with whom he pleaded so passionately throughout his strenuous ministry. There was hardly a city of importance in America which he did not visit, and he conducted three great, extended campaigns in Great Britain. Fifty years after his campaign in Glasgow its people held a mammoth memorial service and there revealed the amazing fruitage, still flourishing, of his work in that Scottish metropolis. The fires he kindled in human hearts have never gone out. The men who were deeply affected by Moody, such as Henry Drummond, J. Wilbur Chapman, Wilfred Grenfell and Dan Crawford, to name but four, men who themselves became firebrands for Christ, are legion. In the Lamb's Book alone are recorded the names of the multitudes of those who will be stars in Moody's crown. And aside entirely from his influence upon the world through individuals, there is the great impact for the Kingdom of God which has been made, and is still increasingly being felt, through the institutions which, under God, he established. To name a few is all that I can do, but these alone will suffice to show his abiding influence: The Northfield Seminary for girls, the Mt. Hermon School for boys, the Northfield Student and General Conference each summer; the

[61] R. E. D., p. 4.

Moody Bible Institute, with its over 4,000 alumni, over 1,200 of whom have been foreign missionaries; the great Moody Memorial Church of Chicago, and the Bible Institute Colportage Association, which sends Bibles and Christian books around the world.

That God did use Moody's human best, filled with the Holy Spirit, is written large upon one of the most glorious chapters of the history of the Kingdom of God. And when one stands with bared head and reverent heart on lovely Round Top at old Northfield, where Moody's body sleeps at the spot where he had often said he longed to be when the Lord comes again, one realizes with an overflowing heart how wonderfully fitting and triumphantly true are the words that are carved upon the stone that marks his grave:

DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY
1837, ... 1899
February 5 ....., December 2
He that doeth the will of God abideth forever.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SPIRIT

In the Light of the Teachings of Jesus and of Paul

I. The Teachings of Jesus*

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The word 'freedom' is used in two ways. Sometimes it is used to express what some call 'natural liberty,'[1] or freedom of the will. This freedom has been defined as the "inalienable faculty of self-determination, the power of acting or not acting, and of acting in

*Part II, "The Teachings of Paul," will appear in a subsequent number.
[1]A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confession of Faith,* p. 219.

the way which the man himself, upon the whole view of the case, desires at the time."[2] This freedom is the prerogative of every human soul, and is important. In fact, Hodge attached so much importance to it that he wrote, "everything is gone, if free-will is gone; the moral system is gone, if free-will is gone. You cannot escape except by materialism on the one hand or by Pantheism on the other. Hold, therefore, to the doctrine of free-will."[3] This 'freedom' is not only important but also essential to man; for unless it is possessed by all men, good or bad, they cannot be held accountable. The Presbyterian Standards sum up the whole matter in this way: "God hath endowed the will of man with that natural liberty that is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined, to good or evil. Man is furnished with reason to distinguish between the true and false, and a conscience to distinguish between the right and the wrong, yet he has the power of acting or not acting, and of acting in the way which, upon the whole view of the case, he desires at the time."[4] Now this liberty of the will, like the existence of God, is assumed by Biblical writers. Hastings in his *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* says: "When we pass to the New Testament we discover that personal, free will is an axiom in the teaching of our Lord and His apostles."[5] And in his *Dictionary* he says: "On the thorny questions which have arisen in connection with liberty and necessity Scripture says nothing, but implies much. By always appealing to man as responsible, by calling upon him to repent and believe, by holding him accountable for the results of his action, it assumes that he is free, and in the most definite way refutes the doctrine of moral fatalism. Man may become a slave of sin, sinking into spiritual paralysis; but it is his own act, and recovery is always possible in this life. Only so far as his action is voluntary, and his slavery self-induced, is he guilty. Pharaoh who hardened his heart repeatedly, Ahab who 'did evil above all that were before him,' Jeroboam 'who made Israel to sin,' are terrible examples of the hardening effects of sin; but their ruin was their own work; they

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[2]A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confession of Faith*, p. 219.
[3]A. A. Hodge, *Popular Lectures on Theological Themes*, p. 184.
[4]*Commentary on the Confession of Faith*, p. 219.
[5]J. Hastings, *An Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 907.

'sold themselves to work evil' (I Kings 21:20). Otherwise they could not have been punished by God as they were. Whatever speculative difficulties may be raised on the ground of the divine omniscience, or the law of heredity, or the principle of cause and effect, they vanish before man's invincible consciousness of moral responsibility and the Scripture declarations of God's righteousness and man's freedom (Genesis 18:25; Ezekiel 33:11f, John 3:19, 5:40)".[6]

The second way in which 'freedom' is used is to express what Paul called the 'freedom of the Spirit' or 'Christian liberty' as others prefer to call it. This 'freedom' differs greatly from the freedom of the will. Freedom of the will, as we have seen is "the inalienable constitutional faculty of the human soul, whereby it exercises its volitions as, upon the whole, it pleases in any given case," whereas Christian freedom implies that inward spiritual condition of the soul, produced by the Spirit, which enables a man to desire and will as he ought to do in conformity to the law of God. Scripture teaches that man, exercising the freedom of his will, chose evil and in consequence became morally corrupt and spiritually dead. Sin became an inherent principle of his nature, and this present evil world became the dominating influence in his life. Further, because his understanding is dulled and his affections perverted, neither the intellect, heart nor will of the unregenerate man is able of its own natural strength either to understand, believe, embrace, will, begin, perfect anything in things divine and spiritual; but man is so far dead and corrupt in respect to good that in the nature of man since the fall, and before regeneration, there is not even a scintilla of spiritual strength remaining whereby he can prepare himself for the grace of God, or apprehend that grace when offered, or is able in whole or in half, or in the least part, to apply or accommodate himself to that grace, or to confer or to act, or to operate or to co-operate anything for his own conversion.[7] In other words, man lost his freedom and power to do that which is good and well-pleasing to God and became a bond-servant to evil.

As far as the freedom of the will is concerned, both Scripture

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[6]J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible,* Vol. III, p. 110.
[7]*Form of Concord,* Haas' Collection, (Lutheran), p. 653.

and the conscience of man agree that by the fall he did not lose his power of self-determination. For all mankind is conscious of possessing the power of determining action irrespective of any or of all external influences. All men are held responsible for their own actions, alike by their consciences and by God. When it comes to the matter of Christian liberty, we find, according to the Scripture, that man lost his ability to do what he ought to do. However, it teaches also that this 'freedom' can be regained, and, therefore, it is with this freedom that we are concerned. We wish to examine the subject from two viewpoints. First, the viewpoint of Jesus, and, secondly, the viewpoint of Paul. Having set forth definitely the phase of freedom with which we are concerned, let us consider, then, what Jesus had to teach about Christian freedom.

I. Jesus and Freedom

Jesus used the word translated 'free' (Greek, *eleutheria*), only four times. It is found once in Matthew.[8] According to Matthew, Peter was approached one day by the Temple tax collectors and was asked if their teacher paid the annual Temple tax which every Jew was required to pay into the Temple treasury.[9] Peter, without hesitation, replied 'yes,' whereupon Jesus asked him this question, "What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive toll or tribute? from their sons, or from strangers?" That is, are the sons of earthly kings exempted from taxation? or are they taxed like those who do not belong to the family, such as the subjects and tributaries? When Peter replied 'from strangers,' or subjects, Jesus said to him, 'therefore, the sons are free,' that is, they are exempt from paying tribute. And this is the application. As sons of rulers are exempt from taxes according to the civil law, so He as the Son of God, who is the King of the Temple-city, is free from any ecclesiastical tribute. Carr puts it in this way, "Shall He whom thou hast righteously named the Son of God pay tribute to the Temple of His Father?"[10]

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[8]Matthew 17:25, 26.
[9]Exodus 30:13.
[10]A. Carr, *Cambridge Bible,* Matthew, p. 141.

The other three, and most important, references are found in the Gospel of John and occur in the same passage. Jesus had just delivered His sermon on the 'Light of the World,' and, turning to the Jews that believed on Him, He said, "If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The Concordant Version translates it, "The truth will be making you free." To this the Jews replied, "We are Abraham's seed, and have never yet been in bondage to any man" [literally, slaves of anyone]. "How sayest thou, ye shall become free?" To this Jesus replied, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, everyone that committeth sin [or is doing sin] is the bond-servant [literally, the slave] of sin. And the slave abideth not in the house forever: the son abideth forever. If therefore the son shall make you free [literally, shall be making you free],[11] ye shall be free indeed [or, you will be really free]."

One other passage is sometimes quoted as containing a teaching of Jesus on liberty. The passage is found in Luke. In it He says, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; To set at liberty them that are bruised, To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."[12] But these words are, in the first place, a quotation and not a direct statement. The quotation is based on the prophecy found in Isaiah (61). In the second place, an examination of the original shows that the word translated 'liberty' does not appear in the text, and the text ought to be translated, "to send forth the crushed in deliverance," or, "to dispatch the oppressed with a pardon."[13] Of course, when one is pardoned, he is set at liberty, and, further, the text agrees with Jesus' statement in John, which has just been cited. But, as has been already noted, the word liberty does not occur in the text. We can say, then, that Jesus made but two real statements concerning freedom: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free . . . If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."[14]

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[11]Third person singular, aorist, subjunctive active.
[12]Luke 4:18.
[13]Concordant Version.
[14]John 8:32, 36.

How very brief is His teaching on the subject! And yet, as someone has pointed out, in these very brief texts He has united two of the greatest words in our language—truth and freedom. There are perhaps no other words which have been so variously interpreted, or around which the conflict of opinion has raged more fiercely. Hoow many rebels against just law or wholesome restraint have masked their caprice under the name of liberty! How many fires of persecution have been kindled in the pretended cause of truth! On the other hand, what noble battles have been fought for the most sacred interests of humanity, how much suffering has been endured, how many sacrifices have been made, all in behalf of truth and freedom!

II. The Need of Freedom

If, as Jesus said, we shall become free, that suggests man is not free, and the opposite of liberty or of freedom is restraint, bondage, slavery. These words represent different degrees of restrictions, yet, whether intense or mild, they all keep a man from being free.

Restraints may be of two kinds. They may be external. For example, there is what may be called the 'restraint of bars.' A visit to any zoo furnishes abundant illustrations of that form of restraint. The tiger, the lion, and the bear pace back and forth in their cages. They are free to move, but the bars determine the extent of their moving. They are captives. Watkinson in one of his sermons tells of a writer who, in describing the London zoological gardens, especially mentioned the spacious aviary provided for the eagles, and Watkinson commenting on it says, "One would like to know what the eagles think of that. Surely the amplest artificial horizon is narrow and the loftiest dome mean to creatures born to range the skies and seek the sun. The noble birds must feel in dull, strange ways the loss of their native heaven; the most spacious aviary can only grievously and mysteriously fret them."[15] But let us consider another physical restraint without bars. Take the same eagle and clip its wings. And though there are no bars to hinder, what can an eagle do with shorn wings? He is

[15]J. Hastings, Great Texts of the Bible—John I-XII, p. 372.

just as much a captive as though he were bound with chains or in a barred cage.

The other form of restraint or bondage is internal. It arises from within. And while there are no bars to hinder, no clipped wings, it binds its victims with intangible chains which hinder men more than chains of steel. For example, here is a man in the grip of the drink habit. Here is another who is a slave to narcotics. There is another who is in bondage to lust. There are times when these people in the grip of their habits seem to be satisfied, but there are times also when they yearn to be free from these despotic habits which hold them down.

Bondage, therefore, does not necessarily imply physical restraints exclusively. That is why the Jews said to Jesus, "We are Abraham's seed, and have never yet been in bondage to any man." Because they were free to move about, because they were living in their native land and were able to buy and sell, marry and give in marriage, and live a rather normal life, they boasted of freedom. And yet how really blind they were! At the very moment they spoke they were under the Roman yoke. They bought and sold with Roman money; they paid tribute to a Roman emperor; a Roman governor sat in their judgment hall; a Roman garrison occupied the fortress of their great city. How, then, could they say, "We have never been in bondage to any man?" And what about the years when they were slaves in Egypt, or the years when they were subject to the will of Babylon? How easy it is to forget! Though they were not being led around like galley slaves, they were in bondage at that very moment to a great world power. They had lost their civil liberties. More than that, they were in bondage to an even greater power than Rome. They were in bondage to Satan. "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do."[16]

1. In the first place, men are in bondage to sin. When we examine this matter of bondage a little more closely and inquire if Jesus indicately definitely what makes slaves of men, we find Him saying, in John, "Every one that committeth sin is the

[16]John 8:44.

bond-servant, [literally, the slave], of sin."[17] That is, sin rules in them as the dominant master of all their actions. Sin pervades all their purposes. Sin gives color to all their desires. Sin leavens all their emotions and affections. Sin directs their whole course of conduct. Sin gives character to every product of their intellect, their imagination and their fancy. Every power of their souls is under the dominion of sin, and the result is they obey their animal impulses, seek sensuous pleasure, find their motives and end in earthly things, surrender themselves to the fatalism of circumstance. And, as someone put it, "In this cruel bondage thousands live and die without one great thought, principle, or hope in their maimed and fettered lives."[18] Sometimes men are unconscious of their bondage, as the Jews were. This unconsciousness may be due to their never having consciously enjoyed freedom. Maclaren says, "Ezekiel was once led to a place where, through a hole broken in the wall, there was shown him an inner chamber, on the walls of which were painted the hideous idols of the heathen. And then in the presence of the foul shapes stood venerable priests and high official dignitaries of Israel with their censers in their hands, and their backs to the oracle of God." So many men live in a fool's paradise of ignorance of their own sin. With their backs to all that is good and pure and worthwhile they revel and are content in their own sin, not knowing the joy they are really missing. This unconsciousness may be due to the force of habit also. As a slave may be all the more a slave because he is insensible to his bondage, so man may become all the more enslaved because he is insensible to a habit, a habit, perhaps, which is weaving its tentacles about him and making him a helpless slave to it, not only depriving him of his freedom but gradually sapping his strength and his life also. How well Byron expressed this deadness of the soul in 'The Prisoner of Chillon!' So long a prisoner, the poor fellow when liberated did not rejoice but rather felt that he was being deprived of something of more value than freedom.

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[17]John 8:34.

[18]J. Hastings, *Great Texts of the Bible*—John I-XII, p. 372.

"It might be months, or years, or days,
I kept no count, I took no note,
I had no hope my eyes to raise
And clear them of their dreary mote;
At last men came to set me free,
I asked not why, and reck'd not where,
It was at length the same to me,
Fetter'd or fetterless to be—
I learned to love despair.
And thus when they appear'd at last,
And all my bonds aside were cast,
These heavy walls to me had grown
A hermitage—and all my own!
And half I felt as they were come
To tear me from a second home."

But whether we are conscious or unconscious of our bondage, the fact remains that bondage is the condition of all who are not children of God; and the tragedy of it is that no man can free himself from it at pleasure. This is the most powerful and terrible element in spiritual bondage. To know in one sense we choose it and to know at the same time that even if we try we cannot shake off our chain—this is bondage indeed. Men do resolve again and again that they will force themselves from this tyrant, but after all their struggles he retains his hold upon them. Their tastes, inclinations, affections, desires remain in his grip. They are slaves to sin. But slavery to sin is only one of the chains which bind the sinner.

2. In the second place, men are in bondage to the law of God. "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven."[19] "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."[20] Thus we see that Jesus had the utmost respect for law, both the law of God and the laws made by men,

[19]Matthew 5:17-19.
[20]Mark 12:14-17.

the moral as well as the civil law. But some one asks, if Jesus believed in the law and man is subject to it, then how can it be said that man is in bondage to law? Sin is a tyrant and usurper and exerts an illegitimate authority over man, but law has legitimate authority over him. How then can man be in bondage to law? Man is in bondage because of the demands of the law. It requires perfect obedience. "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet stumble in one point, he is become guilty of all."[21] He who transgresses either moral or civil law is bound by its penalties. As long as man obeys he is free; but the moment he disobeys he is restrained of his liberty by the prison walls which the law has provided for those who throw off its allegiance. What are some of the elements of terror in this bondage to the law of God? First, there is the actual condemnation and exposure to the wrath of God. Some men act as though they are on probation similar to the probation Adam and Eve were under in the garden of Eden and therefore they are free to choose whether they will or will not be obedient to the law of God. The truth is, as someone expressed it, "All are, already, criminals, arrested, tried, convicted, and condemned; and are only awaiting the execution of a sentence which has been delayed by the sovereign pleasure of God." Others act as though they could release themselves from the captivity of the law of God and walk forth to freedom the moment they chose to signify their willingness to renew the oath of allegiance to the Sovereign whose authority they have renounced and whose laws they have broken. But it is not as easy as that. Unless man keeps the whole law he is still a condemned criminal and justly exposed to divine wrath. The second element of terror in this bondage to law is the fact that there is nothing man can do to redeem himself from the penalties of the law. Man begins his life bankrupt, and every hour of his existence he is plunged deeper into debt. Repentance will not free man from the obligations of the moral law any more than tears will deliver a spendthrift from a debtor's prison. Absolute and complete reformation of life, were this possible, will in no way release a moral bankrupt from his obligations, no more than the resolve of a man never to get in debt again or to do busi-

[21] James 2:10.

ness in the future on a cash basis will release a man from the penalties of the moral law.

3. In the third place, men are in bondage to death and its consequences. It is interesting to note that there are three deaths recorded in the Gospels and that in each such case, when Jesus spoke, it was a word to allay fear: "Fear not, only believe,"[22] "Weep not,"[23] "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God."[24] Man lives all his lifetime in expectancy of death. The tasks of life may keep us mentally and physically occupied so that we give little thought to death. The pleasures of life, at times, may help us forget that "death cometh soon or late." But the fact remains that death marches on, and whether we give it thought or not we all must yield to its inexorable will. There is no escape.

There is no question about it that man is in spiritual bondage. His hands may not be tied with ropes, his feet may not be in stocks, his body may not be behind stone walls, but nevertheless he is in bondage—a slave to sin, to the law and to the fear of death.

Now, the question is, do men need to remain in bondage? Is there no release? What does Jesus have to say about the matter? As we have already seen, His answer is, No, men do not need to remain in bondage. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." There is release. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

III. What Jesus' Freedom Includes.

If Jesus can and is ready to set men free, what is the nature of that freedom? Certainly it does not mean license. But that is the conception so many have of freedom. To many, freedom is the ability to move without restraint; the right to do as one pleases. To some, man is free when he is in a state of irresponsibility, when he is not chafed and fretted by rules and customs and proprieties. But when men throw off restraints or, as it is said of people during the days of the Judges, do that which is right in their own

[22]Luke 8:50.
[23]Luke 7:13.
[24]John 11:4.

eyes,[25] they do not have liberty but anarchy. There is no liberty to the man who insists on doing as he pleases. Nor does freedom mean release from obedience to the moral law. Men are no longer under it as a covenant of justification but it is still a rule for direction, for its matter is as unchangeable as is the nature of good and evil. Nor are we released from the law of the state. Man lives in a society, and society needs laws in order that the rights of all may be safeguarded. Freedom does not mean that we have the right to live a self-centered life. As someone has said, "Too many people in our generation put their own little lives at the center of the circle and try to make everything rotate around their selfish interests." Selfishness is the pathway to tyranny and oppression. Freedom is not the right to do as we please to other men. Whoever contends for such a conception of freedom moves in a vicious circle from which there is no escape. For example, if you insist on enslaving others, some one stronger than you will insist on the right of enslaving you. Man's liberty ends when it threatens to curse or injure the life of another. To be free does not mean that we shall no longer be tempted, nor be subject to the assaults of Satan. It does not mean that we shall escape death.

What, then, does freedom mean? What kind of freedom does Jesus give? Phillips Brooks described it in these words: "Liberty is the fullest opportunity for man to be and do the very best that is possible." Kingsley says that it is the right to do as we ought, not to do as we like. Blakely defines it as "the opportunity to fulfill the purpose of creation."[26] Freedom, therefore, consists not simply in the absence of external restraints or in the possession of the formal power of choice but in deliverance from the darkening of the mind, the tyranny of sinful lusts and the enthrallment of the will induced by a morally corrupt state. Defined in a positive way, freedom is the possession of holiness, with the will and the ability to do what is right and good. Hence, as Pratt points out, "a created mind whose will acts in obedience to conscience and reason rises to the true ideal of a perfect moral being. This is the highest freedom."[27] This kind of freedom implies two things.

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[25]Judges 17:6.
[26]H. B. Blakely, *Facing Life's Questions*, p. 173.
[27]J. W. Pratt, *Given to Christ*, p. 118.

First, it implies such an inward spiritual condition that a man has the full power through grace to desire and will as he ought to do in conformity to the law of God. Secondly, it implies such relations to God that the person is delivered from the constraining motives of fear and is brought under the ennobling impulses of love and hope.

Being satisfied that Christian freedom is not a condition of irresponsibility, or an exemption from the claims of the law, we next inquire as to the freedom Jesus secured for man. We noted that man is in bondage to sin, to the law and to the fear of death. Now, does Jesus free man from these chains? He says, "If the Son of Man shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." There are no limitations on that claim. If we are freed, we are freed from everything. What chains does Jesus strike off?

1. The first chain that He removes is the chain of the law. Paul says, Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, that is, He released us from its condemnation, and, "there is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." According to Paul, then, Christ assumed man's obligation to the law, meeting all of its demands. And the result of this transaction became effective when man became united to Christ by faith. We may illustrate it in this way. The moment a woman marries, her maiden obligations are at once transferred to the husband and must be discharged by him. So the believer, being married to Christ, becomes a 'femme convert' and is no longer responsible to the law. Luther says, "Everything which Christ has, becomes the property of the believing soul. Everything the soul has, becomes the property of Christ. Christ possesses all blessings and eternal life; these are, therefore, thenceforward the property of the soul. The soul has all its iniquities and sins; these become thenceforward the property of Christ. It is then that a blessed exchange commences. Christ the Almighty and Eternal taking to Himself by the nuptial ring of faith all the sins of the believer, those sins are lost and abolished in Him; for no sin dwells before His infinite righteousness. Thus by faith the believer's soul is delivered from sins and clothed with the eternal righteousness of her bride-

groom, Christ."[28] In view of this fact, Paul asks, "Who shall lay anything to God's elect?" It is as though he said, name a single demand which can be made of God's children, now that Christ has met all the requirements of the law. And the inference is that since the penalties of the law have been met, no further demands can be made.

Is this in keeping with Jesus' teaching? Most assuredly! Here are a few references. "He that believeth on him is not judged."[29] "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life."[30] "And he opened the book and found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives . . . to set at liberty them that are bruised . . . and he closed the book and began to say, Today hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears."[31]

2. Again, Christ frees us from the power of sin. Christ's work would be but partially accomplished if He freed us from the curse of the law only and left us there. The tyrant that binds man must be overcome and the chain with which he binds him must be broken. So to complete His work Christ dethrones the tyrant and unseats the usurper by the actual exertion of a supernatural power in the soul, and this power changes the heart, cleanses the affections and releases the will from its bondage to Satan and sin.

Pratt makes a fine distinction between the two deliverances. He says: "By striking off the first chain, Christ freed us from the penalty; by a second blow, He freed us from the power of sin. In the first act of justification, He gives us a righteousness without us; in the second, He works a holiness within us . . . The former act deprives sin of its damning power; the latter, of its reigning power. In the former act he magnifies the law and makes it honorable; because the law has legitimate authority and cannot be set aside; it must be equitably satisfied . . . In the latter act, He

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[28]Quoted by J. W. Pratt in *Given to Christ,* p. 125.
[29]John 3:18.
[30]John 5:24.
[31]Luke 4:17-21.

comes riding as a victorious king to dethrone sin, the usurper, and to vindicate His rightful dominion in the soul. By sending His spirit into these hearts, His people, who were once the willing slaves of sin, are made His willing subjects in the day of His power, and He tears them away from the grasp of their former tyrant . . . and thus they enter upon the glorious liberty of the children of God. Grace reigns triumphant, and they are free from the power of sin."[32]

But if we are freed from the power of sin why is it that believers are not only able to sin but do sometimes sin very grievously? Paul gives the reason. He says, "I find therefore this law—if so it may be called—(or this constraining principle)—this stern necessity laid upon me from without, that much as I wish to do what is good, the evil lies at my door. For I am a divided being. In my innermost self, the thinking and reasoning part of me, I respond joyfully to the Law of God. But then I see a different law dominating this bodily organism of mine and making me do its behest."[33] That is, although a believer has been empowered to become a Christian, "always actually in defect and tendency, always potentially, in ways positive," he is still a sinner. For the old nature has not been uprooted and cast out. A new nature has simply been planted alongside of it, and hence there is a continuous struggle between two conflicting principles of action—" 'the flesh with the affections and lusts,' that is, the sinful principle in the regenerate; the other, 'the law of the mind,' or the holy principle of the renewed nature."[34] When the Spirit has full sway, then righteous conduct prevails; when we hinder the Spirit, then we revert to unholiness.

3. The last chain that Christ breaks from us is the fear of death. The Christian no longer fears death, for in Christ we have eternal life. Far too often we think of eternal life in terms of the future. We regard it as an experience which cannot be realized until after death. But Jesus did not regard it as a mere future experience. He talked of it in terms of the present. He regarded it as possible

[32]J. W. Pratt, *Given to Christ*, p. 127.
[33]Romans 7:21-23 (Sanday Translation).
[34]Jamieson, Fausset and Brown, *Critical and Explanatory Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 238.

here and now. "Whosoever believeth in him should not perish but *have* eternal life," "He that heareth my word and believeth him that sent me *hath* eternal life," "He that believeth *hath* eternal life."[35] We also think of eternal life in terms of time, when we should think of it in terms of quality. Jesus speaking to Martha, sister of the dead Lazarus, said, "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me," that is, whosoever enters into and shares my quality of life, "shall never die,"[36] that is, death cannot do anything to it. Dr. Fosdick says, "Eternal life is not a postponed affair, but an immediate, exigent, urgent quality, a kind of living with which death has nothing to do."[37] In a word, the Christian has more than the assurance of an endless life. He has the guarantee of a victorious life. "Because I live, ye too shall live." Simply to be told that we will go on living forever as we are, would not be such a great comfort. For, as Dr. Sizoo puts it, "Most of us don't want to go on living forever and ever as we live now."[38] But when we are told that life in God is unconquerable; when we know that life with Christ in God cannot end, and cannot be defeated, then we have something which fires us with courage and dispels all fear.

But man cannot live on earth forever. Everyone knows that he must yield his body, at some time, to the grave, for we are a dying race.[39] But Jesus' death and resurrection from the grave has robbed death of all its horror. Beyond the grave are many mansions.[40] Death is no longer the end, but the gate to endless joy, the way of nearest approach to the throne of the Christ. Fortified with such faith and confidence, man rises superior to all the ills of the present life. He who aspires to "gaze undazzled on the intolerable brightness of that One before whom Israel veiled their faces, will scarcely quail before any earthly fear" but will rather master and triumph over all the difficult and evil things of his earthly pilgrimage. By the death of Christ believers are delivered from the fear of death. "Since then the children are sharers in flesh and

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[35]John 3:16; 5:24; 6:47.
[36]John 11:26.
[37]H. E. Fosdick, *Successful Christian Living*, p. 263.
[38]J. R. Sizoo, *Make Life Worth Living*, p. 156.
[39]John 8:53.
[40]John 14:1-3.

blood, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same; that through death He might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."[41]

4. But Christian freedom includes even more than absolvement from the condemnation and penalty of the law, liberation from the chains of sin, release from the fear of death. To it belongs also the freedom of conscience, that freedom by which the conscience is subject to God only, so that no authority can oblige the faithful to do anything contrary to its dictates. God alone, in the highest and absolute sense, is the Lord of the human conscience, which is responsible only to His authority. Hence God has set the human conscience free from obligations to believe or to obey any such doctrines or commandments of men as are either contrary to, or set aside, the teachings of His word. Whoever deprives men of this right usurps the prerogative of God and destroys man's priceless right. Christian freedom, of course, is not absolute. It has its distinct end and limits. Its end is that every person, without hindrance of his fellow men, should have the opportunity to serve God according to his will. And its limits, as Hodge points out, are two: The authority of God, the Lord of conscience, and the equal liberties and rights of our fellow-men with whom we dwell in organized societies.[42] Since God has established both the church and the state, obedience to legitimate authorities of either, acting within their rightful sphere, is an essential part of obedience to God.

5. To Christian freedom belongs also the free use of things indifferent. Their use, however, is to be governed by two scriptural rules. First, we must be fully assured that we are not doing wrong when we use them, "for whatever is not of faith is sin" (Romans 14:23). Secondly, their use must be governed by expediency rather than by rights and law (I Corinthians 6:12; 10:23).

But a further question arises. How does Jesus set men free? What instrument does He use?

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[41]Hebrews 2:14-15.

[42]A. A. Hodge, *Commentary on the Confession of Faith*, p. 359.

IV. How Jesus Sets Men Free

Jesus said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." We know that all truth frees. For example, the more man knows about nature the less apt he is to think of it in terms of a monster. "Many an ancient superstition that used to terrify men has retreated before the face of light."[43] And while man recognizes that at times nature does things which he cannot understand, yet he knows that as a whole nature is kind. The truth about disease has freed man from the superstitious incantations of the medicine man and the practices of witch doctors. The truth about God has emancipated man from cringing terror and made him look up and call Him Father. The truth frees from fear, from superstition, from terror. But what particular kind of truth shall make you free? To find the answer, it will be necessary first to see what He said about the truth. This will not be difficult, for the references are few, and all are found in the Gospel of John. They are: "I am the way, the truth, and the life."[44] "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth.'[45] "Sanctify them in the truth, Thy word is truth . . . I sanctify myself that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth."[46] "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice."[47] But someone observes that Christ is mentioned as the truth, the Holy Spirit is mentioned as the truth and the Word is mentioned as the truth; and the question arises, how can that be? How can all be the truth? Jesus is the author of the truth, the meritorious cause of it,—"grace and truth came by Jesus Christ,"[48] "The only begotten, full of grace and truth."[49] The Spirit is the agent who applies the truth, and the Word is the in-

[43]H. E. Fosdick, *Secret of Victorious Living,* p. 131.
[44]John 14:6.
[45]John 16:13.
[46]John 17:17, 19.
[47]John 18:37.
[48]John 1:17.
[49]John 1:14.

strument which reveals the truth, and through the agency of all three, men can know the truth.

With what truth, then, is Jesus concerned? Not with mere information regarding the world,—'new truths' which are discovered by man's exploration of the universe and the examination of himself. Nor is He concerned about abstract truth,—the truth which Pilate, no doubt, had in mind, when he asked, "What is truth?"[50] The truth with which Jesus is concerned, is the making known of the ultimate facts about which man wants to know and must know in order to live. The truth concerning God: What kind of deity is He? The truth about man: What is man, and what chance has he to be other than he is? The truth in regard to life: What is life? What is its purpose? Is this life all there is? It is in Jesus that we find an answer to each of these questions.

1. For, first, Jesus revealed to man the true character of God. He revealed Him as One who knows, cares and loves, a God whose love can never be changed by the experiences and circumstances of life, even death itself. He revealed God to man not as a far-off deity but One who was near. And, more, as a Father who can be trusted, who suffers when His children go astray, who seeks them when they are lost and in whose house there is a place for them when they decide to come back home again.

And this He did through His own words and character. "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father."[51] Merely to witness with words is not enough; but when one's character substantiates one's words, then the witness is reliable. Dr. Brunner says, "Jesus' words are truth because they issued from a life which was truth. His life was truth because it is the only life which we know anything about which was perfectly at home among the deepest realities of God's universe. His words are true because they deal with the deepest realities men know anything about. His life was truth because it was reality itself."[52] And so "the character of the in-

[50]Pilate, in all probability, was familiar with the various philosophical systems of his day. Many of these claimed to be the truth, yet each differed widely from the other. Hence, when Jesus said His kingdom was in the realm of truth, Pilate simply put it in the category of another idle philosophy, and skeptically asked, "What is truth?"

[51]John 14:9.

[52]B. H. Brunner, *Great Questions of the Last Week*, p. 116.

visible and omnipresent Deity, whom no eye can fully see, and no life adequately express, who is without an equal in wisdom and power and goodness, is focused, as it were, in the personality of Jesus."[53]

2. Jesus revealed the truth respecting man. He taught that although sin had dragged man down, he was made for the heights. And while God looked upon him as fallen, nevertheless, even in his fallen state, God saw in him a noble creature with almost limitless possibilities. Beneath the vilest outside, man was within a human soul that when touched with the divine power was capable of marvelous transformation and endless growth. And it is this fact that gives man confidence and hope and liberty. For, as Robertson points out, "It is not the shackle on the wrist that constitutes the slave, but the loss of self-respect—to be treated as degraded till he feels degraded—to be subjected to the lash till he believes that he deserves the lash. On the other hand, liberty is to suspect, yet reverence self—to suspect the tendency which leaves us ever on the brink of fall—to reverence that within us which is allied to God, redeemed by God the Son, and made a temple of the Holy Ghost."[54]

3. Jesus revealed the truth about life. "I came," He said, "that they may have life, and may have it abundantly."[55] That is, life was not merely existence but an infinitely great experience when lived according to His standards. Too often the word 'abundantly' is associated with material things. And for that reason, probably, Jesus explained that "man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."[56] In a word, life is not to be measured by things. This did not mean Jesus opposed the possessing of property. It simply meant that it was to be a secondary consideration. Jesus is saying that the measure of life is not quantity but quality, that the value of a man's life is not to be determined by the things man produces or possesses but by the character of the man produced. The man, therefore, that makese life one wild scramble for material things, according to Jesus, has chosen a

[53]Hastings, *Great Texts of the Bible*—John 13-21, p. 318.
[54]F. W. Robertson's *Sermons*, p. 210.
[55]John 10:10.
[56]Luke 12:15.

fool's course. To such men He says, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth . . . but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven . . . where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."[57] Put simply, he who makes the chief aim of life the getting of material things seeks temporary and fleeting objects and neglects values that are constant and abiding. According to Jesus, the life real does not consist of material things at all. It is not what we have or do not have that gives quality to life. The quality of life is determined by our attitude to the experiences and circumstances that cross our pathway. He truly lives who continues to try in the face of failure, who prays in the face of defeat, who struggles in the face of indifference, who keeps sweet and tolerant when bitterness and hate are all around, who remains patient when a fierce restlessness is stirring within. He really lives who does his task well and finds in it satisfaction, who seeks not his own good but the good of others. He really lives who strives to give rather than to get.

4. Finally, Jesus taught that life on earth is not all. Our "earthly existence is an education for a larger existence beyond our bourne of time and space."[58] Life in this world is merely a pilgrimage. Man is journeying to a celestial city. Heaven is his home. And how that truth has released captive man! For souls enslaved with fear throw off their shackles. Men bowed down under burdens and suffering take heart and persevere; and in glad hope and knowledge of that truth, men still will suffer torture and even death, not accepting deliverance, that they may attain a better resurrection. What glorious truth Christ has revealed! What glorious freedom He makes possible to the children of men!

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[57]Matthew 6:19, 20.
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IS A LICENTIATE A MINISTER?

By Judge Samuel M. Wilson,
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At the recent stated meeting of the Synod of Kentucky the point was raised by one of the ministerial members of Synod that a mere licentiate or probationer could not properly be designated or described as a "minister." Not in the spirit of controversy or with the design of provoking controversy, but only to present a layman's non-clerical statement of a difference of opinion on this point, the following brief examination of the subject is respectfully submitted.

To begin with, it may be worth while to note that, in the historical development of evangelical Christianity from its primitive beginnings, religious titles have grown out of the realities and seeming needs of practical experience and not from any preconceived or arbitrary hierarchical nomenclature or classification. "Licentiates," for instance, are unknown by name or otherwise in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

The word "licentiate" is an adjectival noun and means, primarily, one that is licensed to do something, one who has a license to practice an art or a profession; the condition of being licensed or of having a license. "In non-episcopal churches, as the Presbyterian," says the *Century Dictionary,* "a person licensed to preach

and perform the ordinary services of public worship, prior to being ordained as a pastor," is a licentiate. He is one licensed or authorized to preach as an accredited expositor of the gospel as viewed and held by the denomination to which he belongs.

In Presbyterian terminology, the term "licentiate," upon close analysis, would seem to denote a minister of limited functions and duties to be exercised provisionally and for a prescribed length of time, preliminary to his ordination to the full office and work of the gospel ministry. So long as the license remains in force the licentiate is regarded as on trial or probation and is correctly characterized as a "probationer for the holy ministry." The questions to be asked of a candidate for licensure, (*Book of Church Order,* par. 115), however, are substantially the same as the questions to be asked of a candidate for ordination. (*Ibid.,* par. 136.)

Now, just as a fully ordained "minister of the Word" (V. D. M.) may be variously known by the appellations or titles of Bishop, Pastor, Minister, Presbyter or Elder, Ambassador, Evangelist, Preacher, Teacher, and Steward, (*Ibid.,* par. 33), so, we think, it is not improper or unwarranted by Scripture to call a licentiate a minister or preacher. Preaching is certainly one of the chief, if not the very highest, of the functions of the ordained minister, and it is expressly "to preach the Gospel" that the probationer for the holy ministry is licensed. In doing so he exercises a function and performs a duty which devolve upon him, neither less nor more, when he receives ordination. To this extent, therefore, he would seem to be properly and accurately characterized as a minister.

Presbyterians would hardly think of calling deacons ministers, and yet the Greek word *diakonos,* which gives us the name, means minister or servant, and the word diaconate, (in the Greek, *diakonia*), means ministry. Deacons in the Episcopal Church are regularly regarded and classified as members of the ministry of that Church, although, to be sure, they are not authorized in virtue of their office to administer the sacraments: and, as Schaff says, (*Relig. Encyc.,* Vol. I, p. 615), "Episcopal deacons are what in other churches are called candidates or licentiates of the ministry." To this he adds, (*Ibid.,* p. 615), "In the Methodist-Episcopal

Church, the deacons constitute an order in the ministry, as in the Episcopal Church."

In Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* at page 620, it is said: "*Diakonia* is the distinctive Christian word for 'ministry,' and *diakonos* for 'minister.'"

In the New Testament there are several well recognized grades or degrees of ministers. Jesus our Saviour Himself began His ministry by preaching the gospel (Luke 4:17-21) and is specifically described as a minister (Rom. 15:8), for He "took upon Him the form of a servant" (Philippians 2:7; in the Greek, *doulos,* a slave or bondman). But "Jesus Himself baptized not" (John 4:2). Was Paul the Apostle a minister? Again and again he called himself a minister (Ephesians 3:7; Colossians 1:23). Yet Paul declared "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel" (I Corinthians 1:17). Passing from the highest to the lowliest rank in the scale of ministers, we find, on the other hand, that one who serves and follows Christ is His minister. "My *diakonos*" is the expression in the original Greek (John 12:26).

It is true our Authorized Version translates the word as meaning *servant,* and very properly so, but that is precisely what the word *minister* (the Latin equivalent of *diakonos*) means in every connection in which it occurs in the New Testament. Paul, for example, calls Epaphras "our dear fellow-servant" and "faithful minister of Christ" (Colossians 1:7). Literally translated this text should read: "our beloved fellow-bondsman" or "fellow-slave" and "faithful servant." The identical language is used by Paul in reference to Tychicus, "a faithful minister and fellow-servant" (Colossians 4:7), literally, "faithful servant and fellow-bondman." So of Timothy, upon performance of the duties enjoined upon him, it was said, "thou shalt be a good minister," or "excellent servant," "of Jesus Christ" (1 Timothy 4:6).

In a narrow and technical or strictly ecclesiastical sense and according to Presbyterian order and usage the word "Minister" must be taken to mean only one who is "commissioned to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments" (*Book of Church Order,* par. 31). But in a broader and, as we believe, in a perfectly legitimate and accurate sense, a "probationer" who has been regu-

larly licensed "to preach the gospel" may be fairly, truly and happily described as a "minister." In other words, to the extent that he has thereby become a "preacher" he has also become a "minister." He is restricted in the scope of his powers and functions, but in the exercise of the specific and all-important function of preaching his authority is unrestricted. Even the fully ordained minister can attain no higher level than this, insofar as preaching the Word of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ is concerned. This is what the great Apostle declared he was primarily called upon and commissioned to do. And certainly to the average layman sitting in the pew an accredited preacher, officiating as such in the pulpit, proclaiming the gospel and conducting public worship after the manner of a conventional minister, is *pro hac vice* a minister.

If it still be insisted that a mere licensed *preacher,* because he has no right to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, lacks the essential attributes of a true *minister,* we meet the contention with certain statements which have been made by very high modern authorities. Using the term sacrament in a broad sense, as the Rev. Dr. H. H. Farmer, an eminent Presbyterian theologian, points out in his recent book, *The Servant of the Word,* (pp. 28, 97), preaching has sometimes been called a sacrament—the sacrament of the Word. And in a notable work by the late Rev. Dr. James I. Vance, entitled *Being a Preacher,* (pp. 24, 25, 43, 59, 60, 61, 67, 70), the distinguished author says: "It has pleased the Lord 'by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.' . . . The 'ministry' is just a word to picture service. . . . All that the Church has is a message. That is all that it had at the first. . . . This is all the Church has ever had. . . . All that the Church has today is its message. Silence that, and the Christian Church goes out of business. . . . The gospel is not merely something Jesus said or taught or did or had. It is Christ Himself. The message was an incarnation. . . . Nothing can ever take the place of preaching. People who are alarmed over a tendency which they are pleased to call 'semonolatry' are needlessly alarmed. . . . The Church has the gospel, and its sole and supreme task is to proclaim the message."

Finally, an indication that the word 'minister,' in the infancy

of Presbyterianism, was not so narrowly used as to exclude licentiates, is found in the subscription to an important letter despatched some 400 years ago to Geneva on behalf of the Helvetic Protestant Church in Zurich. This letter was dated 21st October, 1553, and signed: "The Pastors and Readers, Ministers of the Church at Zurich," (*Pastores et Lectores, Ministri Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ.*)

Again, in the second *Book of Discipline* of the Church of Scotland, agreed upon by the General Assembly in 1578, established by law in 1592, ratified by the Assembly in 1638 and by succeeding Assemblies and re-established by law in 1690, there will be found, in Chapter II, this language:

> "The whole policy of the kirk consisteth in three things, viz., in doctrine, discipline, and distribution. With doctrine is annexed the administration of sacraments.
>
> "And, according to the parts of this division, arises a three-fold sort of office-bearers in the kirk, to-wit: of ministers or preachers, elders or governours, and deacons or distributors.
>
> "And all these may be called by one general word, *ministers of the kirk.*"

In Chapter VIII of this same second *Book of Discipline* will also be found the following:

> "The word *diakonos* sometimes is largely taken, comprehending all them that bear office in the ministry and spiritual function in the kirk. But now, *as we speak,* it is taken only for them unto whom the collection and distribution of the alms of the faithful and ecclesiastical goods do belong."

Thus the transition is disclosed; thus it is made clear that practical and accepted usage, rather than any oracular or canonical deliverance, has narrowed or contracted the original true scriptural meaning of the word *diakonia,* which, as has been shown, signified *ministry* in the widest and most comprehensive sense of the term. To this it is hardly necessary to add that the Church of Scotland accepted and established, with slight verbal variations, the completed work of the Westminster Assembly of 1643-1649.

THE UNION SEMINARY REVIEW

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Any book noticed in these pages may be secured at publisher's price from The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Box 1176, Richmond, Va.

I. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

THE MAN OF THE HOUR. *By Winifred Kirkland.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 171 pages. $1.75. In this volume Miss Kirkland has devoted her remarkable skill of portraiture to the relation of Jesus to such characters as Peter the Friend, Simon the Pharisee (the Snob), the Rich Young Ruler, and Judas the Enigma. This is where she is at her best. Her "Man of the Hour," however, is not really the Jesus of the Gospels, although he resembles Him. It is true, he speaks as no other man spake. Her "Traveler," to quote Miss Kirkland, "has entrusted to us his method of building himself into Godhead" (p. 126). His method of teaching men to be godlike is to be a method of "securely erecting the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth" (p. 115). The fascination of her work is the sincerity and confidence with which the author writes. But her mystical outreach exceeds her interpretative grasp. As a result the portrait she paints is not the Jesus who said, "I make nothing of myself," and the Kingdom for which she aspires is not the one which He declared to be "at hand" but is still "a dream of the builder." H. T. K.

GREAT WOMEN OF THE BIBLE. *By Clarence E. Macartney.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 207 pages. $1.50. Twelve character sketches of women of the Bible, with a final chapter on the ideal woman of Proverbs 31, done with Dr. Macartney's aptness for bringing out the present-day, practical and personal application of Bible narrative. W. T. W.

MEDITATIONS FOR DAYS AND SEASONS. *By M. K. W. Heicher.* Harper and Brothers, New York. Pages xix, 271. $2.50. A book of daily devotional readings that is quite out of the ordinary in its use of illustrations from the contemporaneous and the wide range of characteristically modern interests from which they are drawn. Indexed by subjects, by their appropriate days and seasons and by Scripture text, this book is a very suggestive and usable one for sermon theme and illustration, as well as for its devotional purpose. W. T. W.

RUSSIAN EVENTS IN THE LIGHT OF BIBLE PROPHECY. *By Louis S. Bauman.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 191 pages. $1.50. The author agrees with Dr. Scofield in identifying "Gog of the land of Magog" (Ezek. 38:2) with a prince of Russia. Most modern scholars (except those of the Dispensational school) do not accept this identification. Having identified Russia, the author proceeds to show how current events are fulfilling the prophecies in Ezekiel 38 and 39 and confidently points out what is still left to be fulfilled. J. E. B.

PELOUBET'S SELECT NOTES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS. Improved Uniform Series: Course for 1943. *By Wilbur M. Smith, D. D.* W. A. Wilde Company, Boston. 437 pages. $2.00. This best known of all the regular Sunday School helps has appeared annually now for 69 years and has thoroughly approved itself as a thoroughly sound, conservative and evangelistic exposition of the Uniform Lessons. It is especially rich in its quotations from the standard Biblical expositors. If there is any Bible teacher who doesn't know Peloubet's, we recommend that he repair this neglect—without further delay. E. T. T.

II. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

PLATO'S THEOLOGY. *By Friedrich Solmsen.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y. 201 pages. $2.50. This is a Plato study, technical in nature. It presupposes an intimacy with that philosopher's works; indeed it requires some knowledge of the whole of the Greek tradition. It is a stimulating study, but, of course, Mr. Solmsen's interpretation of Plato must be studied with Plato and other such works in this highly controversial field. His final chapter on the influence and transformation of Plato's theology is full of suggestions for a curious mind to explore. It shows the continuity of Platonic thought that exists in Christian theology.

Such a book has value for any serious student of theology. For our own Southern Presbyterian Church it is well to remember that anyone who would understand Calvin must know Plato, for Calvin was influenced greatly by the Platonic and Neo-Platonic tradition mediated through Plotinus, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux and Nicholas of Cusa. Any intelligent revival of interest in John Calvin surely necessitates a rebirth of interest in Plato's theology. J. O.

RECKONING WITH LIFE. *By George A. Wilson.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 303 pages. $2.75. For almost forty years Professor of Philosophy at Syracuse University, the author wrote this book to sum up his life teachings. He was a devout Methodist and a personal idealist of the school of Lotze and Bowne, yet imparting to this fertile movement his own original touch. The ultimate reality, he teaches, is a power and not a mere process, a unity transcending space and time, the intelligent source of nature's orderliness and, above all, infinitely personal. It is that personal energy to which we respond by constructing our mental world and which cooperates with our volitions in law-abiding responses that yield the countless values we enjoy. Everything in the universe is as if it were designed to stimulate growth of character through our answering effort to know, to appreciate and to create. Even the evils of the world, real as they are, are incidental to this infinite and compelling task of character-building. Immortality is a reasonable belief because the ultimate Personal

Power has evidenced a deep and lasting interest in human selves and a far-reaching purpose for them, by creating them with the power to endure and the power to grow and by providing a law-abiding universe which sensitively responds to our real initiative and draws us out into an ever enlarging life of truth and value. Our knowledge of God is not wholly mystical or "wholly other" than other forms of knowledge, but is an outgrowth of our best insight into truth, value and friendship, only transcending these in scope and perspective. The doctrine of a finite Deity is definitely rejected. This is an able, well-reasoned book, inspiring in thought although often dull and repetitious in language. The chief weakness is the subjectivistic, semi-Berkeleian epistemology which in this system renders nature less than real. D. M. A.

THE LIFE OF THE MIND. *By Emile Cailliet.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 79 pages. $1.25. Here is a book which will provide food for thought alike for those who "view with apprehension" the trend of the times and also for those who belong to the "God's in His heaven, all's right with the world" school. Dr. Emile Cailliet, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures at the University of Pennsylvania, going somewhat beyond the formal bounds of his subject, in this little essay has set forth a Christian philosophy for the day in which we live that deserves a sympathetic hearing even from those who may not be able to accept all the details of his presentation, such as, for instance, his ardent advocacy of neo-Thomism. His thesis is that modern religious decline is traceable directly to that self-sufficiency which has caused us to eliminate the divine from our thinking. With a wealth of citations he proves that our civilization has become de-Christianized and he calls for a return to evangelical faith as a constituent part of our thinking. J. E. C., Jr.

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. *By Edgar Sheffield Brightman.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 213 pages. $2. These 1942 Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt unfold a brilliant philosophic analysis of the spiritual life from the author's well-known standpoint of personal idealism. In sharp contrast with Kirkegaard, Barth and even Niebuhr, Professor Brightman sees no line of separation between the rational and the spiritual but rather the most intimate blending. The spiritual nature of man is his personality in so far as it aspires to, and growingly achieves, ideal values. These are no impersonal abstractions, as Plato taught, but real, personal experiences validated by their coherence and universality. The author argues with rare clarity that spirit is irreducibly personal; that it is social in its nature and destiny; that its sole creative source is the Divine Spirit; that it is eternally developing in both God and man; and that it is the only ultimate freedom, an unvanquished freedom which no tyranny can ever destroy and which is the final source of all human hope and courage for the

future. Such an inspiriting proclamation only intensifies the problem of evil. Dr. Brightman does not fully face this problem, but he does recognize the part played by man's sin and greed, socially multiplied, in frustrating God's gracious purposes. He also urges that eternity cannot be conceived as wholly other than time and that God must, therefore, be conceived as "developing" or progressing along with His creation to higher fulfilments of value. In line with this, he condemns Calvin for his too static conception of truth. Hegel's conception of truth as eternally on the march is commended as the true alternative. The chapter on "Spirit As Free" is one of Dr. Brightman's best pieces of writing. Although a Christian philosopher, he fails to make Christ central in the attainment of this Freedom.

D. M. A.

A Realistic Philosophy of Religion. *By A. Campbell Garnett.* Willett, Clark and Company, Chicago. 331 pages. $3.00. In this volume the Associate Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wisconsin has given a lucid and scholarly example of the current empirical approach to the interpretation of religion. He begins with an analysis of the origin of religion in the individual and the race and of its typical beliefs and problems. From this examination he draws the main thesis of his book: "that man's consciousness of God rests upon the element of conflict that exists within the moral life, a conflict that is first felt as between the egoistic and the altruistic tendencies of our nature." These altruistic tendencies, of which he usually speaks as the disinterested will to the good of others, are distinguished by man from his "familiar self of private desire" and recognized as the divine immanent in him. The second section of the book is devoted to an interpretation of the practice of religion, in which its role in the moral life is portrayed. In the third section, turning to an interpretation of the beliefs of religion, the author reviews the thought of a variety of philosophers and takes account of the relevant findings of science, reaching the conclusion that the immanent God manifested in the altruistic will is also transcendent and that there is sufficient ground for believing in immortality.

While the author thus arrives at the theistic position, it is a modest and tentative brand of theism, which, as a commentator remarks on the jacket, "holds out an olive branch toward contemporary humanism"—a gesture, we might add, which is hardly surprising in a thorough-going empiricist. Traditional theists will note in particular the author's romantic view of human nature, whose "fundamental feature" is a distinterested will to the good of others (Paul, like Augustine, was semi-neurotic in his exaggerated sense of sin) and his insistence that "no specific beliefs constitute the essential minimum of religion."

J. N. T.

I Still Believev in God. *By Jacob A. Dell.* Wartburg Press, Columbus, O. 256 pages. $2.00. This book grew out of the conviction "that the hope of the world for better times depends upon our finding a spiritual incentive and motivation that will shake us out of our indifference and raise us above our selfishness. That motivation is present in those who believe in God." The author's purpose, therefore, is to set forth the reasonableness and the satisfying nature of Christian faith in God. With closely knit arguments clothed in simple language, he moves by easy stages from God as the source of thought and plan and law in the Universe to God's revelation of Himself through holy men of old and supremely in Jesus Christ. The theology is thoroughly orthodox and the arguments are not new, yet the freshness of the style, the homely illustrations and the eminent fairness of Dr. Dell unite to make this an attractive and readable series of essays. The closing chapter (written after Pearl Harbor) deals with the principles which must prevail in domestic and world problems if we are to see better days in the post-war era. For older young people (or adults) troubled with intellectual doubts, the book offers stimulating reading. D. M. C.

The Fatherhood of God. *By Evert J. Blekkink, D. D.* Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich. 120 pages. $1.00. What impresses the reader of this book most is the calmness, the quiet faith and devotion with which it is written. The strong winds of controversy have fallen asleep. The author, who is Emeritus Professor of the Western Theological Seminary of Holland, Michigan, is giving us the mellow harvest of his life of thought and study on some of the central themes of Christianity. The conclusions which he presents here are in harmony with the Reformed faith. For the most part the book is written simply enough for the layman to understand and enjoy. It brings much of the heart of Christian doctrine within his grasp in an edifying way and confirms belief and hope. J. D.

Redemption and Revelation—In the Actuality of History. *By H. Wheeler Robinson.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 320 pages. $3.00. This book is published in the Library of Constructive Theology. The point of view which undergirds this series as a whole is expressed in the General Introduction. "They (*i. e.,* the authors) desire to lay stress upon the value and validity of religious experience and to develop their theology on the basis of the religious consciousness." H. Wheeler Robinson is well known in the field of theology. He is the author of *The Christian Doctrine of Man* and of *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit.* This volume comes as a worthy supplement to these two fine volumes. Dr. Robinson's point of view is that of a matured liberalism. He assumes the reconstruction of the history of Israel, which is characteristic of liberal thought. But while Dr. Robinson starts with liberal assumptions, his book as a whole represents

the movement of his thought toward a more conservative position. He is sure that the gospel "reveals an (objective) redemption which God has independently wrought out in Christ, which is completed in the actual transformation taking place in Christian lives." He has a fine understanding of "The Prophetic Consciousness" as the central point of revelation in the Old Testament. And his treatment of "Nature and Miracle" is a fine piece of theological thinking in which he departs from the old conception of a closed universe. His treatment of the relation between Revelation and History is equally interesting, and in his study of the Atonement he recognizes the necessity of retributive justice. Taken as a whole this book represents the matured thinking of one of the ablest theologians of our time. As such it will commend itself to all thoughtful readers. H. R.

DIE KIRCHLICHE DOGMATIK. *By Karl Barth.* Evangelischer Verlag, Zollicon, Zurich. 898 pages. 1942. For Barth, one must start by placing himself in the Christian revelation where the ruling voice is that of the Lord Jesus Christ, not with an axiom of reason nor with a datum of experience. Under the doctrine of God, which is also considered in this "half-volume," Barth presents the election of grace and the law of God. Since Christ is true God and true man, He is the electing God and the elected man, the sanctifying God and the sanctified man.

God elects the man Christ Jesus as the beginning of all His ways and works, in Christ He choses a people including Israel and the Church and through the meditation of this Church the Spirit proclaims the Word to and works faith in the hearts of individuals. This magnificent effort to present a predestination that reads every item of the doctrine in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ would make a most interesting seminar for serious students of theology. The electing God is no abstract Deity but the Triune God who revealed Himself in Christ; the covenant of grace is the *Urgeschichte* in which is found the source and meaning of history; the foundation of assurance is not in introspection, but in Christ, who suffices for a thousand witnesses; supralapsarianism is preferable to infralapsarianism when election begins with Christ, for this avoids a natural history apart from Christ and makes the general for the sake of the special. Each of these and other questions call for careful consideration, perhaps amendment, but such a study would accomplish in America what Barth has done in Europe—it would bring the mind back to theology. The reviewer is not in accord with the author's suggestion that one may hear in a saving way the sentence of God's election of grace even in Hell (p. 359). On the other hand, he rejoices in the way in which the election of each sinner is presented as absolutely an election of *grace.* We, who are godless, who separate ourselves from God, are chosen in Christ, not on account of our works but in spite of our wickedness. Christ is the Lord, Head, Mirror, Instrument and Organ of election—both Subject electing and Object elected. The

fundamental action of the election of grace is His election to humiliation and suffering for the salvation of His people and the destruction of evil. Thus "the doctrine of God's election of grace is the sum of the gospel. It is the content of the good news which is Jesus Christ."

Christian ethics is theological ethics, gracious ethics, gospel ethics. The covenant of the living God in Christ Jesus includes in itself duties, responsibilities and obligations of man. The one Word of God is gospel and law. The gospel includes the law, for by the gospel sinners are brought to the perfection the law demands. Only the grace of God answers the ethical problems for fallen sinners. It answers them in Jesus Christ, who is both the sanctifying God and the sanctified man in one. The commands of the living God are not to be subjected to some other norm, standards or value. They are quite and alone the relevation of God's grace and lordship over every province of the ethical problem. *All* ethical truth is included in the command of the grace of God, and any effort to find a prior foundation in man's moral philosophy perverts the one and only foundation. Abraham's offering of Isaac or Joshua's enslavement of certain of the Canaanites is only read aright when it is read in the light of the revelation of God's grace and lordship in Jesus Christ. When God revealed His own image in the Person of Christ, at the same time Man in the Person of Christ lifted Himself up to the image of God. "Alongside this one image we need no other: neither another image of God nor another image of man and His righteous acts, nor another gospel, nor another law. We have in the one image of Jesus Christ, both the gospel which reconciles us to God, enlightens and comforts us, and also the law, the law which really binds and obligates, in distinction from all other laws which man can find or think out for himself. Theological ethic concerns itself with this law. It is the ethic of grace or it is not theological ethic. For it is grace—the grace of God in Jesus Christ—in which the law of God is both set up and fulfilled, and as set up and fulfilled law is revealed."

In a day when so many religious leaders are starting with the world and its social and economic problems and with man and his history or his religion, here is a trumpet call to begin with the God who has revealed Himself in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and to read the truth of God and the duties of man from the self-revelation of the living God. W. C. R.

WE BELIEVE. *By John J. Moment.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 134 pages. $1.25. In this comparatively small volume we have a book of great value as a discussion of the fundamentals of the Christian Faith from the viewpoint of the formulators of its historic creeds. Dr. Moment, the pastor of the Crescent Avenue Presbyterian Church of Plainfield, New Jersey, reveals a depth of knowledge of the writings of the Church Fathers and discusses their concepts expressed in the ancient creeds in lucid, forcible, fascinating style. His thinking is clear, his expression forthright, his

diction excellent, and throughout there is a delightful vein of subtle humor which enlivens the theological problems involved. The approach is stimulating and refreshing, the author's analyses of the original thought of the Fathers throwing much light on the meaning of the basic assertions of the creeds for today. This reviewer agrees with the comment of another, that "this is one of the best and most suggestive religious books of the year." It will certainly afford a clearer knowledge and appreciation of the framers of the historic creeds and of their monumental contribution to the Church of the ages. J. S.

CENTRAL CERTAINTIES: THE JARRELL LECTURES FOR 1942 AT EMORY UNIVERSITY. *By Arthur James Moore,* a Bishop of the Methodist Church. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 142 pages. $1.00. We all feel that in a time of crisis such as this Christians should rally themselves to the great abiding realities of their faith and should look forward with confidence in God. In these chapters, Bishop Moore re-emphasizes some of the triumphant certainties of Christianity. He recalls us to the true reasons for hope and courage, as he declares that the Church is deathless, that the Kingdom is coming, that the gospel is adequate, that the world mission is inevitable, and, finally, that there is life after death. There is realism in these chapters, but the prevailing note is that of optimism and assurance. Along with a determination to state the truth fairly the book reveals the stirring and swelling emotions of a preacher with a glorious message to proclaim. J. D.

MEDIEVAL HUMANISM. *By Gerald G. Walsh.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 103 pages. $1.00. Humanism implies that happiness is to be sought in a human way, that is, by way of truth, good and beauty. What Christian humanism adds to pagan humanism is the recognition that since what can be seen and thought are good or true or beautiful, then "the Creator of these things must be even more worth the search than the things He created. Hence Christian humanism seeks for happiness not merely by ordering the senses for the sake of the soul, but also by ordering the soul for the glory of God." A convincing case is made from historical Christianity that Christian humanism "in giving us Heaven does not take away the earth." The author's thumb-nail sketch of humanism's trail through the centuries since the fourth is a brilliant if audacious effort.

The unity and clarity of Thomistic theology pulse through the pages of this little volume. Here is represented the Catholic tradition at its best, and it merits appreciative consideration. The luminous biographical sketches of Ambrose, Augustine, Aquinas, and Dante both illustrate the writer's thesis and bring these men to life again. In Dante, Professor Walsh finds the truest expression of "integral humanism," the highest reach of man.

L. F. K.

III. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

A History of Social Thought. *By Paul Hanly Furfey.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 468 pages. $2.75. In the estimation of Professor Furfey, "Social thought is thought bearing on human group life. The history of social thought is the crystallized social experience of the race." It includes the history of sociology, of economics, of political science, and also the histories of religions, of education, of philanthropy, and even of literature and other disciplines, in so far as these all deal with group life. Informal social thought he rightly understands to be often more significant than formal social thought.

To write a history of social thought so conceived is an ambitious undertaking. Yet the author has done an admirable piece of work. It is true that the contributions of great thinkers like Plato and John Locke and Karl Marx cannot be adequately presented in a paragraph or two, yet the author does give us an exceedingly helpful outline of the progress of social thought, with the main developments clearly presented.

The writer, who is a Roman Catholic, almost completely neglects Protestant contributions to social thought, and this is one of the book's gravest defects. The author makes it clear that he regards the Medieval synthesis as developed by Thomas Aquinas as the ideal for society. But he does not obtrude Catholic doctrine and the book is not a Roman Catholic apology. It is the work of a real scholar, an objective historical presentation which any thoughtful Protestant or Roman Catholic will find most rewarding.

E. T. T.

Man Discovers God. *By Sherwood Eddy.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 270 pages. $2.50. Sherwood Eddy has written many helpful volumes in recent years, the fruit of his wide reading and a fine sense of values. The present volume carries us rapidly down the centuries, describing the valuable insights that have come to outstanding seers of the human race concerning Deity. Chapters are given to Plato and the Platonists, the prophets of Israel, the Apostles and Evangelists, St. Augustine, the mystics, the Reformers, the great scientists, and modern figures like Tolstoy, Reinhold Niebuhr and Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Eddy himself is loyal to the Christian tradition and believes that discovery is only half the story, being matched by revelation, supremely in and through Jesus Christ. The reader will not expect a deep and profound treatment of so many important figures. He will find the volume a helpful and inspiring one, bringing new insights and a new interest in an important group of men, all of whom are able to stimulate his own thought and teach him something about divine realities.

E. T. T.

LIVING BIOGRAPHIES OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS. *By Henry Thomas and Dana Lee Thomas.* With illustrations by Gordon Ross. Garden City Publishing Company, Garden City, New York. 297 pages. $1.98. The co-authors of this very attractive volume have an imposing list of similar works to their credit—*Living Biographies of Great Painters, Great Composers* and the like. They write well—short biographical sketches that will hold the interest of any type of reader and which bring out the inspirational value of the various Lives for the present time. Included in the present volume are great Biblical figures like Moses, Isaiah and Paul; founders of other religions like Buddha, Confucius and Mohammed; outstanding Christians like Luther, Calvin, Loyola and Wesley; founders of new movements like Swedenborg, Brigham Young and Mary Baker Eddy; and last, but not least, Mahatma Gandhi. All are treated sympathetically. Unfortunately, in their sketches of the Biblical figures the authors are inclined to mingle fact and fancy. And one religion seems to be about as good as another. But there are many laymen who will read and enjoy these well written sketches who would never touch a more pretentious volume. E. T. T.

CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM IN THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES, WITH DEFINITIONS OF CHURCH TERMS AND USAGES. *By Thomas Albert Stafford.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 176 pages. $2.00. We have here "an illustrated study of the history, the meaning, and the use of Christian symbols and art forms from the point of view of the evangelical Churches. It is the best book in its field—not only because it is a book of great merit, but also because it is the only book in its field." The author deals only with symbols which have value for the evangelical Churches. The introductory chapters make out a good case for the wider use and the proper use of symbolism in the evangelical Churches. Subsequent chapters describe ancient symbols which it is appropriate for the evangelical Churches to use. The book is profusely illustrated. All church building committees should make a careful study of this volume before perfecting their plans. E. T. T.

SIX KINGS OF THE AMERICAN PULPIT. *By Clarence Edward Macartney.* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 210 pages. $1.50. If we were asked to name the half dozen outstanding preachers in American history, I wonder what would be our answer. The most of us, I dare say, would include George Whitefield, Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks in our list, with wide variation when it came to the other three. Dr. Macartney gives "as the real kings of the American pulpit" George Whitefield, Matthew Simpson, Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, T. DeWitt Talmage and a layman,—William Jennings Bryan, each being given a full-length delineation in series in the Smythe Lectures at Columbia Theological Seminary in 1939. Here are men differing widely in background, personal

gifts, spheres of service, methods of preparation and delivery of their messages, immediate appeal and (though this defies computation) continuing influence. While some readers will not agree with all the statements of the book, all will agree, I am sure, that the characterizations are clear, the analyses keen and the book itself interesting and stimulating from the first page to the last. J. G. McA.

RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA, 1917-1942. *By N. S. Timasheff.* Sheed and Ward, New York. 171 pages. $2.00. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE SOVIET STATE. *By Serge Bolshakoff.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 75 pages. $.90. We have here two excellent accounts of the persecution of the Church in Soviet Russia. Mr. Bolshakoff gives us the essential facts about Russian Christianity before and after the Soviet Revolution in brief compass, without wasted words. Professor Timasheff, who was Associate Professor of Jurisprudence at the Polytechnical Institute of Petrograd at the time of the Communist Revolution, gives us a fuller account, with more valuable detail. Both authors give us the facts without prejudice from reliable sources, many from Soviet official documents, statistics and accounts.

In spite of the tremendous losses suffered by the Church in Russia, in spite of the fact that Communist philosophy and Christianity are incompatible, both writers agree that there is some hope for the future. Religion in Russia is not dead. Millions of its people still believe in God and participate to a certain extent in religious rites. And the anti-religious policy of the Soviets has definitely moderated. Mr. Bolshakoff says the older generation of Bolshevists were irreconcilable but the younger generation of Communists now coming into power have no hatred for the Church, which has succeeded in modernizing itself and adapting itself to the new conditions. Professor Timasheff is not quite so optimistic. The New Religious Policy he claims is "merely a compromise, reluctantly accepted for compelling reasons, and contrary to the convictions of the government. Hence the concessions are precarious. If conditions alter to the advantage of the Communist government a return to the policy of direct attack is possible. . . . But such relapses will not necessarily take place." He thinks the changed attitude toward the Church is bound up with a changed cultural attitude, which may continue to the advantage of the Church. "Conflicting forces are at issue and can give impetus to one or the other of opposed tendencies." These two books are exceedingly valuable for one who wishes to understand the present religious situation in Russia. E. T. T.

THIS FREEDOM—WHENCE? *By J. Wesley Bready.* The American Tract Society, New York. 365 pages. $1.50. This book is an abridgment and a revision of the author's *England Before and After Wesley.* His thesis is that the freedoms and the values which we prize in our democracy all had their roots in the revival begun under the Wesleys. In these days when

we are facing the problem of a better world after the war, this timely book should make Americans realize that the new world of peace and justice and prosperity is only possible as the Spirit of God illuminates and empowers the minds and hearts of men. J. E. B.

THE ESSENCE OF ANGLO-CATHOLICISM. *By Walter Herbert Stowe.* Morehouse-Gorham Company, New York. 63 pages. Paper, 40 cents. Ministers who wish a brief and lucid account of the main tenets of Anglo-Catholicism, what it is and what it is not, are advised to buy this inexpensive little book. Its substance was originally written for a group of Protestant ministers in New Brunswick, N. J. It was published in England in 1932 and is reprinted now for the first time in America. Anglo-Catholicism is perhaps the most vital movement within the Church of England and within our own Protestant Episcopal Church. It is a movement about which no Protestant minister should be uninformed. It would be well if other booklets were available interpreting various movements within the Church one to another—and doing it as effectively as does this.

E. T. T.

EVANGELICALS, REVOLUTIONISTS AND IDEALISTS—Six English Contributors to American Thought and Action. *By Francis John McConnell.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 184 pages. $1.50. This book consists of six essays given as lectures on the Drew Lectureship in Biography by Bishop McConnell. The aim of the author "is to point out some influences of England on America in the eighteenth century which do not seem to have been sufficiently recognized." As a result he gives us brief sketches of James Edward Oglethorpe, John Wesley, George Whitefield, Thomas Paine, George Berkeley and William Wilberforce. They are not so much biographical sketches as they are psychological studies of the ideas unique with these men and the result of the impact of these ideas on American life and thought. One can say without qualification that this book is most interesting reading and it does give new light on some of these men of whom we have all heard but about which we may not have known much in so far as their influence on America is concerned. However, the average reader will certainly fail to see any real connection with the title and some of these men. The two most interesting essays are the first on Oglethorpe and the last on Wilberforce. In the latter the author shows how the type of opposition that Wilberforce met in his attack on the slave trade was just the sort of opposition that all social reformers have met with since. "The problems were of the same kind that always confront the Christian statesman, and the Christian citizen, in any attempt to apply Christianity to large-scale social conditions." This book was most enjoyable and helpful. J. A.

History of American Congregationalism. *By Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley.* The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 432 pages. $2.00. No Church has made greater contributions to American Christianity than the Congregational Church (or Churches), and none has been so closely related to the Presbyterian through the larger part of its history. The last history of this great and important denomination was written almost half a century ago by Professor Williston Walker. The fact that a modern, up-to-date, readable history of American Congregationalism has appeared is, therefore, a matter of general interest.

The authors find the root principle of Congregationalism in its Independency. The contribution of Puritanism and the influence of Calvinism in the history of the Congregational Churches are recognized, sympathetically for the most part, but the authors are more interested in Independency as developed in the Plymouth congregation and its antecedents than with Puritanism, which Congregationalism outgrew, and with Calvinism, from which it finally escaped. The relation of the Congregational Churches with the Presbyterian Church, culminating in the famous Plan of Union, is said to have been fatal to the progress of Congregationalism in America. Revivalism as far back as 1865 is considered "contrary and foreign to the spirit, the tradition and the temperament of the Congregational Churches," a statement which is somewhat puzzling as we think of such men as Jonathan Edwards, Asahel Nettleton, Lyman Beecher, Charles G. Finney and Dwight L. Moody. Theological developments within the Congregational Churches are touched upon only lightly. Changes in the Church's denominational structure, the growth of social concern, and improvements in evangelism and worship are dealt with at considerable length. The authors believe in the Congregation Church, its peculiar genius, and its guiding principles. There is no better book which the non-Congregationalist can read for an understanding of Congregationalism as it is at the present time and for those elements in its past history which have meaning for the present. E. T. T.

The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church. *By George E. DeMille.* The Church Historical Society, Philadelphia. 130 pages. This book is accepted as the standard work on the history of the High Church movement within the Episcopal Church. Since the Catholic party is the most aggressive and the most dynamic party within the American Episcopal Church, (as well as the Church of England), this is a book which has values for others than Episcopalians. Among the many interesting facts brought out by the present study are the following:

The Catholic movement in the American Episcopal Church antedates the Oxford Movement in the Church of England. Four phases of the movement may be distinguished. "During the first phase, that prior to 1840,

the great work of the High Churchmen" was "to reaffirm the fundamental position of the Church—her Catholicity, the necessity of her orders, and the validity of her sacraments. The polemic of this period was mainly directed against the Protestant sects. During the second phase, from 1840 to 1860, the advanced men of the period were striving to put into practice the logical consequences of the doctrine laid down by their predecessors; to re-emphasize the idea of worship, to make the Eucharist more central and to increase the frequency of communions . . . The third phase, from 1860 on, was characterized . . . by an attempt to go behind the Reformation and to restore to the Church some of those features of Catholic life which she had lost." . . . Partly corresponding to these three phases are the three sections which now appear in the High Church party. The first and more conservative group lays stress on the Primitive Church but regards the Reformation as a great blessing; the second and more advanced group is decidedly cool toward the Reformers and frankly desirous of reintroducing practises and beliefs not primitive but coming from the Middle Ages. The first group regards High Mass without communicants as an abomination. The second group stresses the sacrificial aspect of the Mass and uses the sacrament as an object of worship. Finally, there is "the lunatic fringe," the genuine Romanizers, avowedly working for reunion with Rome. Numerous accessions to Rome, however, have ceased since 1853-1860.

The author believes that the fourth and final stage of the Catholic revival set in about 1933, when the Catholic party became definitely interested in social reform.

There are seventeen communities for women (vowed to celibacy) within the Episcopal Church and two communities for men. The author acknowledges that the religion of Episcopalians centers far less in the Bible than in the Prayer Book. Many northern High Churchmen regard the South, (where the evangelical, Low Church party is strongest), as a sort of "religious Death Valley—dry, below sea level."

This is a good history of the Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church and worth reading by Presbyterians as well as by Episcopalians. E. T. T.

INVITATION TO PILGRIMAGE. *By John Baillie.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 131 pages. $1.50. A sign of a good book is the wish on the part of the reader that there might be more. This is such a one. It is a moving and inspiring book written by one of the great Christian scholars of Scotland. As we follow the pilgrimage of the writer's mind we rejoice in his meeting and conquering one after another the philosophies of the moderns which invite the soul to take by-paths. You are conscious that he has been along the paths many of the contemporary thinkers have chosen, and found out their delusions. So he calls to those who sincerely seek to walk the way of the Christian faith. He has something to say to

the writers and speakers of today who are concerned over ideals and the freedom of the human spirit. Many of them, uprooted from the faith of their fathers, are living only on the spiritual capital which has been inherited. Some of these are seeing now that their words regarding man's belief in his power to control his own fate have been emptied of all meaning. These are invited back to the divine truth of the gospel, and to the Church they criticized without knowing what they were about.

Those who have read other volumes by the author know the strength of his mind and the clarity of his writing. Here will be found a warmth and wistfulness not in the earlier writings. It is no wonder that Professor John Baillie is Moderator-Elect of the Church of Scotland.

J. W. J.

THE ODYSSEY OF A FAITH. *By Bernard Heller.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 277 pages. $2.50. The title of this volume is well chosen. The history of Judaism is made up of a long series of wanderings and unique experiences. The author does not treat these in chronological order. In rare style he deals with chosen episodes, spanning three thousand years, and depicts in each, and progressively, the genius of his faith. It is a Jewish history written by a devout and learned Jew. Judaism has had to meet the challenges of many western cultures. Dr. Heller portrays his faith in conflict with these ideologies. Copious notes and a full index make the volume a valuable reference book. S. J. L. C.

LATIN AMERICA

Throughout the Protestant Church the special subject for Foreign Mission study is Latin America. The Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, has issued the following booklets for teachers and students of this field of the Church's work:

1. Outlook Pamphlets on Latin America:
   (1) Outlook in Brazil, Eula Kennedy Long..... 25 cents
   (2) Outlook in the River Plata Region, Hugh C. Stuntz.... 25 "
   (3) Outlook in Mexico, Alberto Rembao ..... 25 "
   (4) Outlook in the Western Republics, Jay C. Field..... 25 "
   (5) Outlook in the West Indies, Edward A. Odell..... 25 "
2. Six Stories About South America ..... 10 "
3. Children's Games from Latin America..... 10 "
4. Pedro Opens the Gate, Alfred Dixon Heiniger..... 50 "
5. Discussion and Programs for Young People on Latin America, Donald R. Gorham ..... 25 "
6. The same title, for Adults, W. M. Carr and M. W. Taylor.... 25 "
7. Six Stories about Mexico and the Caribbean Islands..... 10 "
8. Tales from Latin America, Frank S. Mead..... 50 "

9. Focus on Latin America, Dorothy F. McConnell..... 25 "
10. A Primary Teacher's Guide on Latin America, Blanche Hoke.. 25 "
11. A Junior Teacher's Guide on Latin America, Helen M. Criley. 25 "

D. W. R.

IV. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

MILLHANDS AND PREACHERS. *By Liston Pope.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 370 pages. $4.00. Most Ph. D. dissertations, being somewhat rarefied stabs at a brilliant combination of novelty and erudition, are not only "over the head" of the common man—they are up in the stratosphere. About ninety-nine out of every hundred, it is safe to say, are valuable only for academic purposes. This one of Pope's is the one in a hundred. It is not merely a competent piece of scholarship but a readable and stirring exposition of a highly important subject that has critical bearing on the role of the Church in the building of tomorrow's world.

The title, though prosaic, does tell simply and plainly what the book is about. It is a study of "millhands and preachers" in Gaston County, North Carolina, (a "prize laboratory" the author calls it), and their intermeshed religious and social relations. How did cotton mills come to Gastonia and what part did the churches play in their rise? What part did the mills play in the growth of churches? What are the effects, social and spiritual, of mill village life on human personality? What part does mill management play in shaping the policy and message of the churches? To what extent are the preachers, in their pulpits and in public affairs generally, standing for the kind of Christianity that makes for "abundant life" here and now? These are a few of the major questions posed and answered by the author, and if his thorough, well-documented and fair-minded study is a typical slice of what the South as a whole is like in this field, (as I believe it is), then the Social Gospel of the Southern Church is a mere infant not yet out of swaddling clothes.

When I first skimmed through this book I felt that Pope had perhaps unwittingly begun with a preconceived and rather radical notion of what preachers ought to say and do in relation to industry and then had gone to Gastonia to find only what confirmed his thesis. A careful reading of the book made me throw that opinion away. Pope's scientific approach, I think, is unimpeachable. He undoubtedly has his opinions—and they are progressive—but he honestly tried to get at all the facts and then let the facts speak for themselves. He apparently read everything that bore upon his subject for sixty or seventy years back. He lived in Gastonia several months and interviewed hundreds of people of all types and classes. Long and painstaking study was given to the famous Loray strike of 1929 which, with its fatal and communistic complications, catapulted Gastonia onto the front pages of newspapers the world over.

What Pope found in Gastonia makes, for me at least, illuminating and saddening reading. Though his findings are packed with piercing implications for both the Church and industry, one citation here must suffice. That has to do with what the preachers in Gastonia conceived to be their function as Christian prophets. A few dared to speak of local social needs realistically, but the spirit of Amos was conspicuous by its absence. As one preacher put it, "We are opposed only to things downright evil, such as poolrooms." By and large, the preachers' awareness of social evils rarely got above that level. The Ministerial Association was on record as opposed to the morals of Carole Lombard and the menace of low-flying airplanes, but to the devastating effects of the profit motive and its practical outworkings nearby it was largely and blissfully unaware.

Like many books of its kind, *Millhands and Preachers* has the defects of its virtues. By exposing so coldly and sharply the shortcomings of these Southern preachers in one relationship, it may leave the impression in some minds that Christianity in Gastonia, (and by implication in the South), is a complete washout. That is not true by any means. Also, having quoted an old preacher who thanked God that Jesus "is not a stick of candy but a stick of dynamite," the author may seem to some to be advocating a Church that sees the gospel as dynamite pure and simple. Of course, the gospel is more than that. Preachers must do more than light fuses.

But the gospel is partly dynamite and preachers must do more than peddle the candy of it. That is the clear conclusion to which the book points. Though a faithful reading of it might make many a preacher squirm, a humble facing of the facts would also make one a better man and a better minister.

The book's price may put it beyond many a pocketbook; but any minister who, wanting to read it, could persuade the town librarian to buy it would do both himself and the community a spiritual and social service. For, unless we lose the war and Hitler burns all the copies of it, I predict that this first-rate work will be one of the germinal books in determining the social thought and action of the Southern Church in the next generation.

J. H. M., Jr.

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE WAR. *By Charles Clayton Morrison.* Willett, Clark & Company, Chicago. 145 page. $1.50. The chapters of this book comprise the editorials which appeared in *The Christian Century* following the epochal events of December 7, 1941, the expression of the penetrating thought of its well known editor, Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison. They are a frank and realistic endeavor to face up to what is to many the perplexing question of what position the Christian is conscientiously to take when his country is at war. Dr. Morrison rejects both the militarist and the pacifist positions and holds to what he defines as that of the Christian realist. He places repentance at the essential core of the true Christian

attitude in a war situation and believes that the Chrisian realist will do his full part in the country's war effort, in the armed services or the industrial support thereof, not feeling that God has either commanded or forbidden him to fight but condemned him to fight as the empirical consequence of our common sin. J. S.

RELIGION AND THE PRESENT CRISIS. *Edited by John Knox.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 165 pages. $1.75. These lectures, delivered by nine members of the faculty of the Divinity School of Chicago under the auspices of the Walgreen Foundation, examine the moral, political and economic aspects of the present world crisis in the light of religion. Every discussion of this type, whether we agree with the conclusions or not, has inestimable value for probing the conscience and stimulating thought in the right direction. Judged by the influence of Christianity as a positive creative factor in shaping the course of human history the questions that these studies direct toward the function of the Church in the present crisis are all to the good. Ministers and laymen, as individuals and as groups, should read this book to help clarify their own views regarding the task of the Christian faith in relation to current world problems and the tasks facing Christians in the days just ahead. H. T. K.

POST-WAR WORLDS. *By P. E. Corbett,* Professor of International Law at McGill University, Toronto. Farrar and Rinehart, New York. 195 pages. $2.00. Anger and haste, after World War I, stifled wisdom. Hence, after World War II, "we shall be fools indeed if we count on the unrehearsed meetings of statesmen to produce a working constitution like the rabbit from the conjurer's hat." Starting from this reflection, the author, whose experience and position entitle him to attentive respect, develops his thesis that "human intelligence is sufficiently advanced to shorten, in the construction of the world-community, the long process of piece-meal organization that resulted in the nation-state." He propounds the "idea of supranational organization as the path of peace and civilized progress," at the same time affirming that peace is not incompatible with the existence of separate political communities. To prevent the recurrence of the war, the British and American people have a choice between a federal union and an alliance, used first to win the war and then to organize a universal association. Dr. Corbett favors the latter as more practicable. World-federation is the goal, but "at first we shall have to be satisfied with quasi-federal machinery." He first reviews other plans, such as those of Streit, Curtis, Jennings and Scelle; then outlines the situation as of late 1941 and devotes the rest of his book to an exposition of what he conceives to be a workable supranational organization. Four groups will be a "necessary minimum" for its formation: the two existing regional groups, the inter-American system and the U. S. R. R.; and two only potential at present, namely, some

European confederation and a far-eastern league. Projected agencies of the world-commonwealth include: an assembly, a world court, an economic and financial organization, a social organization including labor and health services, a territorial administration commission to handle all colonies, a commission on transit and communication, and a commission on intellectual cooperation. The great single obstacle to any type of supra-national organization with real power is, of course, national sovereignty. Much of the book is devoted to an analysis of this concept, its underlying illusions and the necessity of its modification. "Peaceful change will have to be possible even to the detriment of the powerful." Some obvious criticisms of this careful book will occur to the reader. It was apparently written before December, 1941, and the enveloping of southern Asia by Japan. It nowhere clearly shows how the necessary international police is to be developed and maintained and it generally seems to overestimate the number and influence of rational people in the world. The solvency of Britain and America after the war is assumed, when we are approaching bankruptcy faster every day. It is assumed even that Japan will disgorge her gains in Asia and that Japan and China will somehow get together. However, Dr. Corbett is not unaware of these and other barriers, justly pointing out that the establishment of national law-abiding communities met and vanquished the same kind of "impossibilities" which now hinder the development of the international community. K. J. F.

A Basis for the Peace to Come. *By McConnell, Dulles, Paton, Pasvolsky, Hu Shih, Hambro.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 152 pages. $1.00. This little volume has an importance far greater than its limited compass would suggest. Its six chapters by six different but distinguished authors comprise the 1942 Merrick-McDowell Lectures of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. The writers deal with various aspects of the problems involved in the peace which will follow this war and approach these problems from different viewpoints. Through all of the lectures alike, however, there runs a sense of urgency and of the absolute necessity that our leaders should not wait until the conflict is over before laying the groundwork for the next peace treaty and for the international order which it should establish. Bishop Francis J. McConnell writes of the demand which our world situation makes upon the Church for leadership. The Honorable John Foster Dulles and C. J. Hambro discuss the political framework of the post-war world and, although they do not see eye to eye in all respects, agree that some international authority with more power and with wiser methods than those of the old League of Nations will be necessary. Dr. Leo Pasvolsky discusses the economic problems of the peace in a manner which emphasizes the necessity of avoiding the mistakes of the past in this vitally important area of international relationships. As would be expected, Mr. Hu Shih deals principally with the

factors necessary for a durable peace in the Pacific Area and urges the necessity both for the complete restoration of a free China and for a pooling and organizing of the forces of the peace-loving peoples to enforce the collective security of the world. Mr. William Paton strikes a distinctly spiritual note in discussing the Ecumenical Church and World Order, emphasizing the primary importance of Evangelism and of Missions in so far as the activities of the Church are concerned. These lectures deserve and will repay thoughtful study by ministers and laymen alike.

J. McD. R.

CHRISTIAN WORLD ACTION. *By O. Frederick Nolde.* Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia. 109 pages. 40 cents. The Church is becoming interested in the peace which is to follow this war. People generally recognize the necessity for studying the problems of peace so that when the time comes there may be an enlightened public opinion on the matter. This book, dealing with the problems of peace, is attractively written. One could hardly find so much information even in a much larger volume. The book includes various proposals and principles which have been made; the several aspects of peace and eleven practical suggestions Christians can now use for building a just and durable peace. The book is highly commended for personal reading as well as for group study. It will make us see the grave responsibility and opportunity which have come to the Christian Church in this hour of world trouble.

J. W. J.

THE PRACTICE OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. *By Edwin Lewis.* Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 151 pages. $1.00. Dr. Lewis, Professor of Theology at Drew Seminary, is one of America's finest theologians and likewise one of our best writers. He believes that "Christian character and Christian experience are the fruit of Christian faith, and Christian faith is inseparable from Christian belief." His thinking is Biblical but without obscurantism. This book is for intelligent laymen and is not "written down" as are most books of this type. Ministers can read it with tremendous profit. It contains superb source material for a series of sermons. Most dollar books are scarcely worth the reading but this is a splendid exception. Buy it and use it!

H. G. G.

RELIGION IN ILLNESS AND HEALTH. *By Carroll A. Wise.* Harper & Brothers, New York. 279 pages. $2.50. Quite a number of recent books refer to, or touch lightly upon, the fact of the real unity of man's personality. This volume in its first hundred pages deals more thoroughly and more satisfactorily with the problem of the interrelatedness of the body and mind from the standpoint of mental and physical health and sickness than any discussion of the same length I have seen. In this connection the author presents a simple and usable classification of the types of mental ill-health.

The second and larger section of the book deals searchingly with the relation of religion to physical and mental health, and solemnizes the minister as he is made to feel that "through religious ministrations he may actually aid in the development of an illness or make a cure more difficult or impossible." The author says little about the techniques the minister should use in his work. The book, therefore, is not so simple as some others in this field; but it presents the fundamental problems in so clear and comprehensive a way as to make it helpful even to those who have read somewhat extensively on this subject.

No one could go through this book without concluding that the minister must have some knowledge of psychiatry, or without realizing that he must not in his over-zeal become a third- or fourth-rate psychiatrist. While they should co-operate, each must stick to his own province. It is made evident, too, that there should be a closer fellowship between the minister and the physician if the real good of the patient is the chief consideration of the medical profession. This implies that the minister is competent.

W. T. T.

UNDERSTANDING MYSELF. *By Roy E. Dickerson.* Associational Press, New York. 180 pages. $2.00. The first line of the author's Foreword is a true statement of his purpose, "This is a book of ideas for youth—ideas that make for greater achievements, a finer personality and a larger measure of happiness." He is seeking to help young people of high school and college age banish fear, overcome a sense of inferiority, develop self-confidence and gain new strength for everyday living.

Dr. Dickerson knows psychology. He also has a first-hand acquaintance with boys and girls, which enables him to speak their language, and meet them where they are in their thinking and needs. A sense of humor keeps one from feeling that he is being "preached at." Young people will read this book, and will find it decidedly helpful. W. T. T.

MORE POWER IN PRAYER. *By David M. Dawson.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 162 pages. $1.00. This book is the effort of a busy pastor to help Christians everywhere to a deeper appreciation and understanding of effective prayer. There are twenty short chapters, each one on a separate aspect of the subject and each preceded by appropriate Scripture selections. The author's sentences are usually short and crisp and he delights in the use of epigrams. This is a valuable and suggestive book on a subject concerning which we cannot hear too much. J. S. A.

NO SIGN SHALL BE GIVEN. *By Hugh Stevenson Tignor.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 198 pages. $1.75. A boarded up church in a barren upstate New York valley is "the sign that is given" of these times. A young and versatile Universalist minister encounters this ghostly sign and at it finds his point of departure for a most significant book. Although he does not discuss the objective validity of our faith yet he clearly demon-

strates that the Hebrew-Christian tradition is the unifying power which has begotten, nourished and supported our whole social order. This tradition, so vital as a personal and social basis for living, faces grave dangers, and unless it reoccupies its position of ultimate authority in all areas, our tottering civilization must inevitably fall. This tradition with its basic and eternal values is mediated to men through the living Word of God and the institution of the Christian church with its symbolic white spire pointing heavenward. From this vantage point the author consider the problems of democracy, education and the Church. While dealing with profound truths, the book is strikingly phrased and aptly illustrated. Its message should be read and reread, thought through, preached and lived by. D. B. W.

THE FUNERAL. A Source Book for Ministers. *By Andrew W. Blackwood.* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 253 pages. $2.00. As a service where errors and ill-advised practices will mar a man's ministry and as an opportunity for bringing the power of Christ to stricken hearts and troubled homes the funeral has no rival. It is an event of major importance to the pastor, then, when a man of Dr. Blackwood's fine background and understanding writes a book which is filled with helpful suggestions, illustrations of procedure and resources for reference in every phase of this pastoral problem. Minor points of individual preferences make little difference in the worth of the volume. The young minister will need the book as he finds his way, in order that his experience may be the richest possible. An older minister will want to hold himself up to the light of good procedure, and to examine, as honestly as possible, how well he is making use of this part of his ministry. Every man will find some good ideas which he is not using. The book is not only helpful; it is also of genuine interest. It is good reading. A. N. B.

IT CAN HAPPEN BETWEEN SUNDAYS. *By Eugene Dinsmore Dolloff.* The Judson Press, Philadelphia. 111 pages. $1.00. A man whose church has more than doubled in membership in the twelve years of his pastorate and who thinks of his week-night service as the most important service in the church is entitled to tell his story. Dr. Dolloff is a minister in West Medford, Mass., in a denomination which has much to teach others in developing a warm spirit of fellowship—the Baptist. His midweek service is a fellowship service. His prescription: First—a new name; second—variety (but not entertainment as such); third—do not leave attendance to chance; fourth—good publicity; fifth—participation, and sixth—hard work. "Nothing less than good, old-fashioned, consecrated labor will produce happy results." Among the many ideas suggested a pastor is almost sure to find one which will transform his mid-week service if faithfully followed, even though there are other suggestions which may not appeal to him. A. N. B.

THE PASTOR AS A PERSONAL COUNSELOR. *By Carl J. Schindler.* Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia. 147 pages. $1.25. This is not a book for the expert in personal counseling but for the beginner. It is written by a pastor for pastors and contains neither case histories nor lengthy technical discussions. It gives little of the technique of personal counseling but a good deal of sound psychology. It might better have been titled, "A Primer of Pastoral Psychology." As such it is an unusually sane book. *The* book on pastoral psychology is yet to be written. This one is possibly the best for the beginner. H. G. G.

I MARRIED A MINISTER. *Edited by Golda Elam Bader.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 192 pages. $1.50. Sixteen ministers' wives, one minister's daughter and one rabbi's wife have pooled their experience to give us an insight into "parsonage life." While the minister's wife is discussed from such angles as Her Church, Her Opportunities, Her Home, Her Friends, Her Appearance, Her Hobbies, etc., it is the composite picture which impresses one. These frank, sincere appraisals by women of distinction and consecration should be a stimulus to finer living within the manse and deeper understanding from without. N. W. T.

INTERMEDIATES WORSHIP PROGRAMS. *By Mary Elizabeth Past, editor.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 205 pages. $2.00. Fifteen Directors of Religious Education in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., under the leadership of the Director of the First Presbyterian Church of Bluefield, W. Va., have worked our thirty-one meaningful worship programs for boys and girls in this age group. The authors are wholesomely humble with reference to their knowledge of intermediates and differ somewhat in their judgment as to the ability of these young folk to prepare and conduct a service of worship. They are all agreed, however, that wise adult leadership is essential for a truly successful service and they are sure that these programs cannot become vital for another group if they are followed slavishly. They have been prepared only to guide and to be suggestive. Naturally they vary in excellence but they are all good. This book would prove invaluable to those working with this group. One feels hopeful about the future of a Church in which such understanding leadership is being given its young people. W. T. T.

YOUR CHILD'S RELIGION. *By Mildred and Frank Eakin.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 169 pages. $1.75. In this book two thoughtful and earnest people, facing some of the difficult problems of religious belief as they emerge in the experience of boys and girls under twelve, show how parents should help their children understand the meaning of God, prayer, Jesus, death and the Bible. Then they broaden out to consider the relationship of these youngsters to the church, the home and the community with

its varied groups. The authors write arrestingly and think in terms of actual boys and girls whom they know. They are also very honest as they seek to break through familiar words to reality and to develop ways by which these children may be enabled to experience religion on the level of their growing knowledge, interests and needs. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of this reviewer, they lean toward an interpretation of Christ which makes Him only a great teacher and noble example; of prayer which reduces it to a process of reaching out toward the good, and of God which is content to see Him just as "the life process, idealized and personified." Moreover, the books suggested for reading are practically all written from the viewpoint of liberal theology. Yet many conservatives ought to read this book for its valuable practical suggestions and for the way it forces us to examine our accustomed procedures and compels us to think. W. T. T.

THE SERVANT OF THE WORD. *By Herbert H. Farmer.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 152 pages. $1.50. These five stimulating chapters are based on the Warrack Lectures delivered on one of the famous lectureships on preaching which has produced so much of the inspiring and instructive material in the field of Practical Theology. Dr. Farmer, formerly of Hartford Seminary and now in Cambridge, is primarily a systematic theologian, and that fact lends great force to this work on homiletics. He drives home the essential unity in preaching between preparation and delivery, between content and method, between the man and the message. He has a fascinating way of putting homiletical techniques in a theological framework which lifts them far above the level of mere craftsmanship. The one chapter on "The I-Thou Relationship" in preaching is worth the price of the book.

F. H. C.

CASE WORK IN PREACHING. *By Ezra Rhoades.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 159 pages. $1.25. Dr. Rhoades has prepared a book which I am sure will be of great value to younger ministers. It consists of a series of letters setting forth his ideas not only in regard to homiletics but also to pastoral problems, though the emphasis is upon preaching. Sound advice is contained in each letter and at the end of each of the twelve sections there are questions by which a minister can make a searching self-examination and record his estimate of his own progress in preaching.

B. R. L., Jr.

SPURGEON'S SERMON NOTES. Genesis to Revelation. *Edited and Condensed by David Otis Fuller, D. D.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 337 pages. $1.95. Lovers of Spurgeon and his sermons will be pleased with this compact volume of his sermon briefs condensed from four volumes of about 1,500 pages covering the entire Bible. Those who have never become acquainted with the written words of the peerless

preacher of London's Metropolitan Tabernacle will find in this book a useful introduction. It should prove to be a splendid complement to Dr. Richard Ellsworth Day's admirable biography of Spurgeon, *The Shadow of the Broad Brim.* J. S.

EVERY ONE THAT BELIEVETH. *By Harold J. Ockenga.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 256 pages. $2.00. This volume consists of twenty-four sermons of a more or less expository nature, based on the *Epistle to the Romans.* The point of view is distinctly that of the uncritical fundamentalist. The writer confined himself to secondary sources. L. F. K.

53 SUNDAY TALKS TO CHILDREN. *By Joseph A. Schofield, Jr.* W. A. Wilde Company, Boston. 203 pages. $1.50. In spite of the author's warnings, these talks do "talk down to children." They use abstract terminology, while children think concretely. They use objects in attempting to be concrete, but this practice is seldom done well and the object replaces the idea. The talks would not be hurt by having their verbosity adjusted downward, for, while repetition is a law of learning, it is more pleasing to have emphatic truths varied—and progressive. Some of the talks are also a bit on the "sweet" side. The ideas, generally, are good. The execution proves the difficulty of preaching to children. A. N. B.

LETTERS FROM GOD. *By Frank H. Cheley.* W. A. Wilde Company, Boston. 136 pages. $1.50. One of the first books that this reviewer ever purchased was *Stories for Talks to Boys* by this same author. He gladly acknowledges that through the years it has been an invaluable source of illustrative material. It plainly showed Mr. Cheley's gift for dealing with boys. So does this book which was written just shortly before the author's death. "This little book has come into being . . . to help . . . an individual to learn to recognize all about us the little things that show that God is a real part of every individual and every accomplishment of man. It is not an attempt to 'preach' . . . but . . . to help you see that partnership with God is an essential part of every happpy, useful life." That statement in the Foreword gives the theme of the book. J. A.

THE TWOFOLD POWER OF THE GOSPEL. *By Clyde V. Hickerson.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville, Tenn. 164 pages. $1.50. This little volume contains ten sermons from the pen of the pastor of the Baptist Temple, San Antonio, Texas. The themes are varied and good. They include individual and social appeals. The presentations are timely and courageous. They are good gospel messages for our day. S. J. L. C.

FOR CHRIST AND COUNTRY. *By Walter A. Maier, Ph. D.* Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis. 392 pages. $1.50. This book contains the twenty-six radio messages broadcast in the Ninth Lutheran Hour series by the Professor of Old Testament at Concordia Theological Seminary. These addresses are splendid examples of vital preaching. Delivered in simple language and with consideration for the particular seasons of the Christian year and national developments, they are conclusive proof of the fact that messages to the times can be presented on a soundly Biblical basis.

J. S. A.

THE PLACE WHERE THOU STANDEST. *By Paul Scherer.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 176 pages. $1.50. The popular Sunday afternoon radio preacher and minister of the Church of the Holy Trinity (Lutheran) in New York gives us a volume of 25 superb sermons addressed to contemporary needs. Those trained to listen to sermons of the last century type will find these sermons unsatisfying. The modern man will find them glowing with spiritual passion, rooted in the Scripture (but not of the proof-text type) and alive to our modern problems. I like Paul Scherer's preaching. He is as personal in reaching you as a toothache and as clever as Bernard Shaw. Scherer will be in an important pulpit a long time if he keeps on writing sermons like these. A. C. M.

A DIGEST OF CHRISTIAN THINKING. *By Charles S. Macfarland.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 192 pages. $1.50. This is the fifth book since 1936 along this same line by the Emeritus Secretary of the Federal Council. In this volume Dr. Macfarland reviews 42 current books on theological subjects. He classifies the works under various headings, such as "Philosophy, Ethics and Theology," "Contemporary Psychology" and "The Revision of Christian Education." He attempts to summarize the position of each author and show the trend of thought. It may be argued that a book of this nature is hardly necessary, as those who know enough to get the general trend of the authors reviewed will probably read the books and those who would not read them could hardly be expected to have enough background to get anything out of this Digest. It is interesting that Adolph Keller, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Henry P. Van Dusen and other important men say this volume is helpful to them. The most interesting feature of the book for this reviewer comes at the end where the author, after 75 years of rich living, writes, "I believe that we are in the midst of a great awakening . . . I especially desire as I enter my 'second seventy-five' to pay tribute to our contemporary writers. As I read them, sometimes as many as a half-dozen a week, I can see further and further in ever accumulating hope and become more and more content that some things whose accomplishment I coveted in my generation may be completed after I am gone."

A. C. M.

THE BURNING HEART. *By Maitland Alexander (published posthumously).* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 175 pages. $1.50. The twelve sermons which appear in this volume were preached by the late Dr. Maitland Alexander, for over twenty-five years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg. It was Dr. Alexander's custom to have an expert stenographer take down his sermons as he preached and later transcribe them for his files. Going through the bound volumes of these manuscript sermons Dr. Clarence Edward Macartney, now pastor of that famous First Church, selected twelve sermons which he considered most characteristic of the man and herewith presents them "as a memorial of a remarkable preacher." A testimony to his preaching ability is to be found in the fact that Princeton Seminary once offered him the Chair of Homiletics. "As a preacher," says Dr. Macartney, "Dr. Alexander was vigorous, lucid, graphic, enthusiastic to a marvelous degree, and always loyal to the Gospel." These sermons, bearing as they do the marks of the spoken rather than the written message, will be of especial interest as more nearly portraying the characteristics of the preacher. J. B. C., Jr.

RED CLAY TO MOULD. *By Virginia Louise Newton.* The McGregor Company, Athens, Ga. $2.00. This is a book of poems logical in arrangement, choice in contents and beautiful in words. Many of these poems have a particular interest for Athens people but the majority of them have a gripping interest for the public at large. With a genius in the use of language, commonplace things and facts are made sublime. Jargon and jazz are not to be found in the book, but culture, refinement and beauty.

E. L. H.

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THE RELATIONSHIP OF JESUS TO MEN*

By the Rev. Louis Matthews Sweet, Ph. D., S. T. D.,
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A study of the consciousness of Jesus as disclosed in the Gospels leads unmistakably to one definite conclusion,—namely, that the relationship of Jesus to God, viewed historically, metaphysical considerations entirely apart, can be best expressed as the term "Sonship." Jesus was consciously a Son of God. This term expresses most clearly both the inner quality and the outward behaviour of His life from its earliest beginning to the end. All His thoughts, all His words and all His acts were consciously and consistently referred to God as His Father. Even in the most incidental details of life, as well as in its great deeds and decisions, Jesus was loyal Son. And we may also, on the facts, go a step further. Inasmuch as Jesus explored the being of God and found Him and manifested Him as Father Love, revealed as nowhere else in His own Sonship, we are entitled with all the New Testament writers to call Him unique Son, *The* Son of God.

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I

The term Son may, of course, be used as it is used in the New Testament, in two distinct and contrasted senses. It may be used to designate a human or historical Sonship under conditions of growth, temptation and achievement; or it may be used to designate an essential and timeless quality, a being, so to say, who is God's other and eternal Self, in whom His Fatherhood is constituted and fulfilled. We do not attempt to discriminate between these two meanings of Sonship nor to divide the personal actions of Jesus between the two.

In the New Testament the deeper implications of the Sonship of Jesus, as implying a timeless and super-historical relationship to God, are very often evident, but it is doubtful whether the term "Son" is ever applied to Jesus in this sense exclusively. The historical Sonship is a constituent element in the eternal Sonship, or the eternal Sonship is the background of the historical. For example, in the Prologue of John the term Logos is used in the absolute sense (John 1:1) but the term *Son* is not used until the historical element emerges (1:14).

When the discussion turns to the revelation of *God* in the Son, the historical is clearly to the front, as in the main body of the Gospel: "No one has seen God at any time, the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath interpreted Him" (1:18). With this agree categorically the opening of the first Johannine Epistle (1:1-4) and the later portion of it (4:2, 3, 9, 10, 14). With these passages compare the great 'came' utterances, Matt. 10:34; Mk. 1:38; 2:17; Lk. 5:32; John 8:14, 42; 12:27, 47.

The purport of all this is that the transcendent and the historical are inseparably united in the Person of Christ; that the transcendent and historical are continuous; that the transcendent is discoverable in and through the historical. The traditional doctrine of the two natures in one person is our usual way of stating that the Personality of Jesus may be and indeed should be looked at both from the divine and the human point of view. (See Raven: *Jesus and the Gospel of Love,* last chapter.) All the great historic creeds are attempts to put into words this fact—that Jesus is not partly divine

and partly human but wholly divine and wholly human. This does not divide Him nor play one aspect of His being against the other. From the point of view of revelation there is perfect continuity between the divine and human Sonship because the moral and spiritual qualities are the same in both aspects of His being and are capable of infinite extension and expansion. Just as the infinite and eternal God can manifest Himself and His glory in a finite universe, which is yet adequate, because at every point it *suggests* the infinite; so also, the qualities of the perfectly holy and loving God can be manifested in a human character and life because those qualities partake of the divine and are capable, even, within the sphere of the historical and finite, of shining in full perfection. Paul himself combines the two ideas just expressed, of the natural and the spiritual revelation, when he says: "Seeing it is God that said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6). Here is the principle involved: A universe can be so constituted that the same principles and laws of operation apply to stars which are millions of light years apart from each other and to trees that stand side by side in the same field or to flowers that grow together in the same garden bed. In like manner, if Jesus expresses perfect love within the limits of the historical and temporal system of things, that love being divine and limitless in its very nature may reveal and embody, indeed, *must if we are ever to know it at all,* that love which is above time and eternal. Therefore, we, like our guides and teachers of the Apostolic Age, find resident in the historic Sonship of Jesus a divinity which is above and beyond all temporal conditions and limitations whatsoever,—even the eternal Sonship which is the image of the eternal Fatherhood. Like the apostolic group, we 'behold His glory,' *an exhibited character,* which we can interpret only as belonging to one who is as like God as a son is like his father (note the words 'as of' in John 1:14 which, like the original Greek particle, indicate *an inference* or comparison). This is what Prof. DuBose means when he says (*Soteriology of the New Testament,* p. 141): "We are not to find the divinity of Christ in anything outside of his humanity, but in the divine

perfection of his humanity. I do not say that there was not a divinity and a divine personality apart from and prior to the humanity, but to us this is revealed only in the humanity; i. e., in the perfect human holiness, righteousness and life of the man, Christ Jesus." To the same effect all the New Testament writers speak. "For there is one God, one mediator also between God and men, Himself man, Christ Jesus—who gave himself." . . .

This clears the way for a consideration of the problem suggested in the title of this chapter: What was the relationship of Jesus to men?

II

Let us, as before, begin with a generally accepted fact. The deepest level discoverable in the consciousness of Jesus was His sense of kinship to God. The late George A. Gordon of Boston, in a noble book not so well known nowadays as it should be, *The Christ of To-day,* contends that the root of *individuality* in Jesus, that which made Him what He was historically and distinguished Him from others, was His consciousness of unity with God. Dorner says the same thing and, as we shall see, makes much of it in his interpretation of Jesus. James A. Robertson builds the first chapter of his *Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus* and, indeed, practically the whole book, upon this sentence: "The greatest spiritual fact that has emerged in the long story of the human race is Jesus of Nazareth's consciousness of God."

The inevitable consequence of this unique consciousness of intimacy with God on the part of Jesus was a certain tension in the natural relationships between Himself and other human beings. This tension works from both sides. From within, the sense of intimacy with the Father would tend to open a gap between Jesus and those who obviously did not share His experience. The consciousness of possessing unique qualities, of being set apart from the "common herd," so called, has an innate tendency to create an intellectual or moral snobbishness such as that conveyed by the ordinary use of the term "Pharisaism."

From the other side, the sense of separation from one who

manifestly lives on a higher plane, whose every word and act is a rebuke to one's own looser habits of living, creates a sense of inferiority which is bitter and humiliating and may easily grow into intense and active hatred. One can sense this latent feeling, for example, in the sneer often implied in the use of the word "saint." All in all, one need not hesitate to say that the business of living in fellowship and harmony with the people about Him was one of the most difficult of all the life-tasks of Jesus,—a task corresponding to the depth and intensity of His fellowship with God. Humanists and secularists, who maintain that religion, inasmuch as it centers in loyalty to God, has an inherent tendency to drive men apart, in proportion to its sincerity and intensity, have this much in their favor,—that according to the ordinary working of humanity it is true.

As an example let us look again at the familiar boyhood incident recorded by Luke. Many people are inclined to look askance at this incident because, for the most part, we do not care for precocious children. Studied more closely this incident shows itself to be both very beautiful and very normal. But it does disclose the very principle we are discussing. Jesus was brought for the first time into contact with the Temple and its stately ritual. Already he had found God in His own gracious and youthful way, in the Old Testament, in Nature and in His own inner life of devotion. The Father had become the center of everything in life to Him, so that naturally He was absorbed in His conversation with the teachers of His people. Childlike, all contingent circumstances had fled from His mind to such an extent that when He was rebuked for His forgetfulness He was puzzled because He had been doing that which was to Him of supreme importance—else why the visit to the Temple? "Did ye not know that I must be concerned with the things that belong to the house of my Father?" The tension introduced into a human relationship in which two variant viewpoints have arisen had already set in. The idea that the thought of God and God's service is supreme, and the idea that the service of God is to be related to stated times and seasons and ritual performance, were already in conflict in the household of Nazareth. We love to read, however, that Jesus

went down to Nazareth and was subject to the parents, and according to the best light we have on the early years of Jesus His devotion to the family was exceptional (John 19:25-27). Jesus resolved this incipient conflict of wills and hence of duties by accepting the humble task which lay nearest at hand. But this particular stress was not relieved thus. Once at least, and perhaps several times, the family and friends of Jesus tried to restrain Him in His ministry of teaching and action, or actually to interfere in it (cf. Matt. 12:46-50, Mk. 3:21, 31-35, Luke 8:19-21 and John 7:3-5). The words of Jesus, in which He clearly asserts the priority of His mission and the exceptional nature of His relationship to men (Mark 3:33 f.), clearly exhibit this tension between the will and the purpose of One whose position and task are unique and the ordinary judgment of those who naturally, and perhaps in certain instances properly, seek to guide His footsteps. David Smith (*Our Lord's Earthly Life,* p. 131) says, *apropos* of the definitive words of Mark 3:33-35: "In very truth, He was not the son of Mary. He was the eternal Son of God Incarnate, and spiritual kinship was the only tie which bound Him to the children of men." This statement does not solve the problem with which we are dealing—not at all. For the real question here is: "How was this spiritual tie established?" We can, readily enough, see how His spiritual task and His consciousness of Sonship to the Father must have priority over natural ties, though the record is quite clear that He never broke these ties. But how about this matter of spiritual kinship? This is the most difficult of all human ties to establish and to maintain, particularly between an exceptional, not to say unique, personality like Jesus and the rest of mankind. So far as personal and voluntarily assumed domestic ties are concerned, Jesus maintained an almost monastic separation, but this only serves to bring out into clearer relief His universal domestication in the midst of humanity. He was a guest at every hearth, though no fire was kindled for Him in a home of His own. If He was, as we have good reason to suppose, the breadwinner of the Nazareth family until His own maturity, that type of domestic life only serves to intensify His separation from the common lot. On the other hand, it is clear that Jesus had the most robust and comprehensive

social consciousness known to history. There are touches all the way in this Ethic and in His life of what we may call His vicariousness. His representation of His people in prayer and in sacrifice, His baptism, the Lord's Supper, the intercessory prayer, the agony in the Garden, the cry of desolation from the Cross, His prayer for the forgiveness of His slayers, the very Cross itself and the spirit in which He accepted it, are all items which we could never understand without understanding to some extent the vicarious consciousness in which the breadth, intensity and passion of His sense of brotherhood find expression. And how did He get it? We have here another gracious antinomy in the life of Jesus. The depth of His God-consciousness measures the breadth and tenderness of His manward consciousness. His filial devotion overflowed in a fruitful, life-giving, fraternal devotion.

The intensity of His absorption in God was wholly matched by the intensity of His passion to save at any cost those whom He came to make His brothers in the family of God. "He came unto those things which were His own, and they that were His own received Him not, but as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become the children of God" (John 1:12). He found the Father and in and through Him found the children—even the lost and wandering children of the Father.

Dorner maintains that the title "Son of Man," Jesus's favorite self-designation in the Synoptic Gospels, was more than merely a title, in that it was used as a pledge of devotion, a banner to keep always before His mind as a task and a life mission His self-identification with men. This may well be true inasmuch as the deepest fountain of His being was the sense of oneness with God, but it is to be remembered that He discovered His mission through His intimacy with God, not apart from it, still less in spite of it. His valuation of men and His devotion to them was a deep revelation of the mind of God. He came forth from a life of singular devotion into a loving human fellowship which is still the strongest tie which binds human beings together. The ground or working principle of this relationship to mankind on the part of Jesus was, as we have seen, a singular, and to some minds a romantic and an unreal, valuation of human beings and human life as being of in-

calculable and even absolute interest and value to God. Eliphaz in the Book of Job asks, "Can a man be profitable unto God?", with an implied negative and with the unconsciously cynical observation, "Surely he that is wise is profitable unto himself." Jesus answered this question of Eliphaz in the affirmative—and He was not thinking of the choicest of men, either. When He said publicly of Zacchæus, the cheating little tax-gatherer, "Today is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham," He introduced a new principle into human life and inaugurated a new area in its history.

We have already said that this valuation of human life by Jesus is the logical conclusion or corollary of His idea of God, but the drawing of that conclusion, by way of an unique, personal and private fellowship with God, comes with something of a surprise—but it should teach us a profound and lasting lesson. The humanist idea of our devotion to God as something subtracted from the devotion we owe to men, thus dividing and distracting a life which should obey a single principle of dedication, is very much beside the mark in view of the fact that it is contradicted by the supreme instance in human history of humaneness and devotion to human welfare. Is it not rather true, as John intimates in his Epistle (1 John 4:20, 21), that when we say we love God and do not love our neighbor our professed love of God is theoretical rather than actual, and, as a matter of fact, we love neither God nor our neighbor, but ourselves only?

III

There is one apparent exception to the universal humane sympathy and tenderness of Jesus in His judgment of men, namely, His treatment of the official leaders and teachers of His time, called in the New Testament scribes and Pharisees, "rulers of the Jews." The severity of Jesus toward these Jewish officials has created a great deal of discussion and, for the most part, is the one feature of the public life of Jesus which has seemed to many open to criticism. There are two objections to the conduct of Jesus which are usually urged in this connection. The first is that the

criticisms of the leaders are altogether too sweeping, that not all the Pharisees were of the objectionable type pilloried in the Gospels. Some of them, it is alleged, were earnest and sincere men who did their duty as they saw it and were intensely patriotic, and devoted, however mistakenly, to the interests of their nation. The second objection is that even if they were open to censure, often insincere, selfish, bigoted and blind to everything but their own class-interests, they were, though sinful to be sure, but yet men to be won to better things by the gentle persuasions of the Gospel.

This judgment is important and should be carefully considered. There are several remarks to be made in connection with it. In the first place it is to be remembered that the principle of judgment according to which the words and actions of Jesus are called into question are drawn from Jesus Himself. We are puzzled by these actions and sayings of Jesus because they seem unlike Him and because they stand out in such glaring contrast with His usual treatment of even sinful men. It is obvious, or should be, that Jesus would not have taken one attitude toward men in general and another quite different to a particular group except under strong provocation; and even then it is impossible to believe that His fundamental attitude was inconsistent or contradictory. The same love may dictate different modes of treatment of individuals or groups whose attitude and spirit are different. A loving teacher whose life interest is in his pupils as a whole may be *compelled* to treat a stubborn and recalcitrant student with a severity never exercised towards othrs. The clue of Jesus' inward atitude to His official foes is shown in the outcome of it all when for those who had treated Him so cruelly He prayed in the very acme of anguish, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

A second fact worthy of careful consideration is that in the Gospel narratives we are dealing with a group as a group and not as individuals (though note John 3:1-10; 19:38-42) and that the men composing the group were condemned as a whole for what was done officially. This, under ordinary circumstances, we are compelled to do. When we condemn the Council of Ephesus we do not imply that every ecclesiastic in attendance was a "robber."

What we do mean is that the Council officially did such and such things and that the individuals present participated in these actions.

A third consideration is that there can be no reasonable doubt that the officials as a whole turned their worst side toward Jesus and peremptorily rejected Him and His teaching in spite of all the evidence that He was a messenger sent from God. They were from the beginning hostile, captious, unfair and finally savage and ruthless in their opposition to and treatment of Him. They tried to discredit Him with the people; with their bitter enemies they made common cause against Him; they betrayed Him to the Roman officials and endeavored to silence and get rid of Him at any cost—which thing they finally did, or thought they did.

Fourth, it must be remembered that the severity of Jesus toward the rulers was due not to theological differences of opinion but to their unfaithfulness to their professed task of caring for those who needed their guidance. Their official inhumanity to their humble charges, which grew out of their sins of pride, arrogance, pretentiousness and conceit, was the head and front of their offending in the eyes of Jesus. A case in point, often looked at doubtfully by faithful followers of Jesus, who have learned as they think from Him to look upon all use of force as opposed to the Christian spirit, is His so-called "cleansing of the Temple," in the course of which the money changers and hucksters were forcibly ejected from the sacred precincts. That this was a high-handed act from the point of view of a private citizen, but directly related to His claims of high authority, is evident enough and pertinent in another connection. But the flaming indignation expressed in the forcible removal of the intruders and the publicity of the whole performance was wholly justifiable on the ground that not otherwise could the authorities be made to see how disgraceful the situation was. We need make no apology for this action. At this point the "imitation" of Jesus comes up against something in Him which is not in us nor in our situation. But we do need to note how exceptional this act was. Jesus did not go about beating people, even those who richly deserved to be beaten for their cruelty and greed. We have dwelt upon this question as to the severity of Jesus more than would be necessary except for the two following important con-

siderations. The first is that Jesus made a distinction between sins not with respect to inherent heinousness in the acts themselves so much as with respect to the doers and their motives. With sins of weakness and impulse, committed under strong temptation without malice and with considerable admixture of remorse involved in them, He dealt with leniency. That is, the sins were condemned but there was a clean-cut distinction between the sin and the sinner. On the other hand, sins of pride, uncharity, insincerity and cruelty, sins which are so much more closely identified with personality than other types of wrongdoing, and sins which involved the attempt to shut other people out of the Kingdom of God He condemned with unsparing severity. Moreover, these spiritual sins were the faults of the enlightened and professed righteous and aroused both indignation and scorn in the soul of Jesus. Such sins do not readily admit the immediate application of balm and sympathy—they must first be burned out by scorn and denunciation. And even so, Jesus could not bring Himself to condemn any without opening the gateway of mercy, as in the case of Nicodemus and the rich young ruler.

The second point here is this: The struggle between Jesus and the authorities was waged not on the ground of theological differences—Jesus never questioned the intellectual orthodoxy of His ecclesiastical opponents—but on the ground of their attitude to the people and particularly on the basis of their conception of the Kingdom of God and their way of establishing it in the world. The real power arrayed against Jesus was an unholy alliance of religion and politics, or church and state,—as the Apocalypse calls it, "the Beast and the false Prophet." The hatred which was turned upon Jesus with such intensity was not only that of entrenched ecclesiastical bigotry but also a fanatical nationalism girded for a hopeless revolution and set against all outsiders. Jesus opposed to this conception of the task of Israel two ideas, both of which aroused the most intense antagonism; one, the universal and controlling principle of love and its immediate and inescapable corollary, a world redemption, beginning with Israel and extending to all the nations, including the arch enemy Rome. The reaction

to this is shown in words spoken in the Council: "What do we? for this man doeth many signs. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation" (John 11:47, 48).

IV

Now the point upon which all these considerations converge is this: the relationship of Jesus to mankind has one element in it other than brotherhood and sympathy. There is an unmistakable ring of authority in what He says and also implied in what He does. This is at once pervasive and specific. It is the basic issue between Jesus and the rulers. Dr. Frank Porter affirms that what Christianity did or attempted to do for its adherents was to substitute Jesus for the Torah, a personal allegiance for an abstract system of performance. For an example which involves, in its entire range of application, the principle to which we are now referring we turn to the controversy concerning the Sabbath, as given in the Synoptic account (Mark 2:27, 28; Luke 6:5, cf. John 5:10-18). The characteristic anti-legalism is exhibited in the revolutionary teaching, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath," and the no less characteristic self-assertion follows in the phrase, "so that the Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27, 28). A careful comparative study of the instances will show that, as we have said, the basic controversy between Jesus and the authorities was, in the case just cited, the implied assertion of His right to attach disciples to His own person and at the same time to release them from formal obligation to the law and to those who officially interpreted it.

Another instance of like purport is found in the same chapter of Mark (2:19) in regard to fasting. The authorities were disturbed (and the disciples also) by Jesus' disregard of fasting, but much more were they disturbed by His authoritative defence of His action. It is the same everywhere. In the Johannine account Jesus is accused of "breaking" the Sabbath, not in the conventional sense of doing forbidden acts but of "loosing" the Sab-

bath law, thus presuming to legislate with respect to a divine institution.

The use of the term "Son of Man" in the Synoptic account of the Sabbath controversy will serve to recall Dorner's idea of the purpose of its use in the thought of Jesus, namely, to keep constantly before His mind, as the living and consistent aim of His life, His divine commission to men; or, in other words, it expresses His constant submission to the self-imposed limits of the Incarnation. He was God's Son made to be Man's Son by His own loyalty and submission to God and His loving devotion to men.

Whether this is true or not, there are two additional implications of this term, as Jesus uses it, which we ought to consider. This qualifying phrase is important. Worlds of scholarship have been expended on the historical and philological antecedents of this often used phrase, but, after all, the decisive factor in determining its meaning is the context and the actual use that Jesus makes of it.

The first implication is that there is some discrepancy between the inherent dignity of Jesus' person and the circumstances of His life in the world. Take, for example, these words spoken to a would-be disciple: "The foxes have holes and the birds of the heavens have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head" (Mark 8:20; Luke 9:58). Here the implied contrast between person and circumstances, between inherent dignity and the poverty and homelessness which characterized His outward and "worldly" position, is evident.

The same contrast is found in even more striking form in connection with the episode of Cæsarea Philippi. Then, directly following Peter's epochal confession of his Messiahship, Jesus warn them that this same "Son of Man," just confessed as their long expected Messiah, must suffer at the hands of men and die. In other words, the term 'Son of Man' contains or involves a claim of Messiahship, while also it conveys, through the context, a transformed idea of the Messiahship which Jesus was to fulfill or, better, create through the humility and self-immolation for love's sake which he made his vocation.

The second implication conveyed in numerous sayings in which

the Son of Man phrase is used is that of authority and headship in the Kingdom of God which He was to found in His own person and to complete in His far-off and mysterious victory. The Apocalyptic imagery in which these sayings are draped, whatever else they may or may not mean, assuredly conveys with unmistakable clearness this idea, that Jesus is the ultimate authority, under His Father, in the Kingdom of God. An outstanding and most suggestive instance of the meaning of the term is found in the threefold Synoptic saying concerning the coming of the Kingdom (Mark 9:1; Matt. 16:28; Luke 9:27). In these three versions of one saying, the coming of the Kingdom in the experience and observation of the disciples is equated with the "coming" of the Son of Man. In fact, one may summarize the meaning as a whole of this distinctive self-chosen title as well as the accompanying imagery as expressing the racial headship of Jesus together with His supreme authority in the Kingdom of God. In this same connection we note the unannounced but also the unmistakable identification of the Apocalyptic Son of Man with the Suffering Servant of the second part of Isaiah. It is not too much to say that out of this identification, illumined by the light of the resurrection, the New Testament doctrine of Christ emerged.

V

But it is now high time to turn to another aspect of the relationship of Jesus to mankind. There are three sayings attributed to Jesus, two from the Synoptic tradition and a third from the Johannine, which we wish to study side by side. The three passages in the order in which we wish to study them are these:

1. "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father, and no one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the Son and He to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him" (Matt. 11:27. Cf. John 3:35; 13:3; 17:1, 2).
2. "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls, for my yoke is easy and my burden is light" (Matt. 11:28-30).
3. "And I when I shall have been lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me" (John 12:32).

These sayings have two things in common. The first is that all three assert for Jesus, in the most uncompromising fashion, an exclusive position of authority and power. The first one asserts an exclusive knowledge of God which is the basis of an exclusive revelation of God. The second asserts an exclusive and central position for Jesus in providing rest for the weary or peace for the troubled through the sharing of a secret discovered by Jesus in His own life and imparted to those who come to Him and accept His yoke. The third saying asserts that the impending tragedy of His life, in which He should be literally held up to scorn, would make Him the magnetic center of saving power.

These three sayings, then, differing in emphasis and mode of approach, concur in assigning to Jesus, according to His own thought concerning Himself, a central place as the revealer of God and as the Dispenser of strength, comfort and saving power to men.

There is a second concurrence in the remarkable expression of the self-consciousness of Jesus in that all of them contain a universal reference. The first one couples with an exclusive, and, so to say, private and unique, knowledge of God through His Sonship the equally unique privilege of revealing Him to "whomsoever he willeth." Taken in connection with the context in which Jesus gives thanks for His generous revelation to "babes," His privilege of revealing the Father is limited only by the willingness of men to receive His truth.

The third saying sets Jesus and His cross unqualifiedly at the center of a world movement which has no limits save only those of the race. Thus, as we have already suggested, Jesus—who sprang from a particularistic race, who under the most favorable circumstances, in brief flashes of light across the boundaries of exclusive privilege, exhibits the most comprehensive and sympathetic social consciousness known to history.

The important thing to notice now is that this universal consciousness of human sympathy and responsibility always expresses itself in organic connection with His sense of unique knowledge, authority and power. His undeniably unique insight into the fact that men everywhere needed knowledge of God, rest of soul and

saving grace to work in their lives was not only accompanied by but was a constituent element in the consciousness that He had that to give which all men needed. These two elements in the consciousness of Jesus are inseparable. It is impossible from every point of view to isolate the creative social consciousness of Jesus and His valuation of essential humanity from His self-consciousness as the Lord of Life, the one revealer of the Father and the living center of human social regeneration and reorganization. He could not conceivably furnish the one adequate principle of social organization ever discovered and at the same time be the victim of a delusion of grandeur with respect to Himself and His own position.

The coexistence in the same mind of those aims for mankind which so accurately assay its needs and its possibilities with these comprehensive and exclusive claims of headship and authority justifies the striking statement of Godet, which admirably summarizes the whole Christian position (Commentary on John, Vol. II, p. 315): "Christianity is entirely based upon Christ's consciousness of Himself, and it is the heroism of faith to rest upon the extraordinary testimony which this being gave to Himself."

VI

There is one further question which concerns the relationship of Jesus to the race which remains to be considered: What sort of a doctrine of man does the doctrine of Jesus as the God-man imply or involve?

Taken by itself the personality of Jesus modifies our doctrine of God not so much metaphysically as morally, and yet the two are closely related. Jesus revealed the Fatherhood of God not merely as an external beneficence toward the creatures of His hand but also as an eternal self-determination or characteristic of His very being. The reproduction in Jesus of the moral qualities of God, together with His unique consciousness of His Sonship, logically leads to the idea that in God both Fatherhood and Sonship are essential and coeternal. In this way the doctrine of Christ has given us a doctrine of God; and the more clearly we recognize the

Christ-likeness of God as our central Christian conception the more stedfastly we shall hold to the logical implicates which are necessary to support it. Both Fatherhood and Sonship are predominantly moral conceptions which imply metaphysical self-determinations as their ground and source.

But what of man? What is the doctrinal implication of Christ's humanity as respects the race at large?

It is very necessary for us to isolate from a mass of secondary questions the central problem which is involved in the personality of Jesus. It is not His humanity *per se* that baffles us when we try to reason from the humanity of Jesus to the rest of mankind but the kind of humanity which is manifested in Him—the type, the measure, the quality, the magnitude, the universality, the moral and spiritual uniqueness, which in balance and combination so obviously set Him apart. There are some, of course, who stop right here and deny categorically that there is a logical nexus between Jesus and the rest of mankind. Between Him and us there is no bridge save His transcendent and condescending grace. He is altogether apart, unique and alone. In Him something happened that never happened before and could never happen again. Emil Brunner says (*The Mediator,* p. 24): "The Christian religion is based wholly upon something which has actually happened within this world of time and space, and indeed, to put it still more plainly, it is based upon something which has taken place *once for all.*" (Italics ours.)

The once-for-allness of the Incarnation of God in Christ all Christians should be willing to admit, since indeed all history proves it. But what was this once-for-allness in Christ? To define what happened in the simplest Christian terms we have this: In Jesus Christ the divine and the human met and were united in one indivisible historic personality at once human and divine. It is quite clear that neither divine nor human categories taken alone can explain what happened. If we say that Jesus was altogether supernatural, miraculous, we have not explained or even interpreted the Incarnation. If we say that deity or divinity explains the uniqueness of Jesus, we do not thereby at all explain how that uniqueness was *actuated within* the human sphere, nor

do we explain that in Jesus which was not unique but shared with all mankind. The Incarnation means *domestication* in our human world, as Brunner says, "of time and space," not a mere appearance in it. The manifestation of God in Christ was not a theophany but an Incarnation, an actual historical becoming. "The word became flesh and dwelt among us." Notice well the distinction here. A theophany, or Avatar in the Indian sense, is unrelated historically but not unique. It has no roots in history and might happen any time, anywhere. The Incarnation is unique but not unrelated. It has a vast context in the life of humanity, in the Old Testament, in the New Testament, in the history of the Christian Church and in the wider movements which make up the unfinished history of the Kingdom of God. Hence it could happen but once because it is the focus of all revelation and the center of all power in the world. "Jesus is the center of all and the goal of all" (Pascal).

This conclusion has an important bearing upon the interpretation of Jesus. There is no possibility of interpreting Jesus in terms of a loose and pantheistic idea of the "divinity of man," as a separate and self-sustaining idea, because measured by the achievement of Jesus the so-called divinity of man is hopelessly outclassed. It is impossible in that way to build the bridge we seek from Jesus to mankind as known in history—the gap is too wide. The author of Hebrews speaks of Jesus as a "High Priest made higher than the heavens," which is a doctrinal conception based on His exaltation, but when he describes him as "holy, guileless, undefiled and separate from sinners," he is speaking in most literal and sober terms of the historic Jesus.

Nothing can rob Jesus of singular distinction nor can any theoretical humanism do away with His separateness from men.

In like manner the attempt to explain Jesus as a spiritual genius fails except as a mere description. The genius is altogether unaccountable (as Alexis Carrel points out) and, therefore, sporadic, irregular, and, so far as any known laws are concerned, without definite bearing on human nature.

Jesus, on the other hand, was not unrelated nor was His coming unaccountable in the sense in which the term was just used. It was

vitally related to the whole spiritual world process. The way was prepared for Him through long ages of anticipation. Light like that of the rising sun preceded His advent. Therefore the logic of Christ's humanity is that He reveals the nature of man in terms of possibility, according to God's plan for Him. Christ then is the root and the head of the redeemed race of mankind. "The Root and the Offspring of David and the bright and Morning Star," for whose coming the whole world is on the tiptoe of expectancy (Rom. 8:20, 21).

THE FREEDOM OF THE SPIRIT

In the Light of the Teachings of Jesus and of Paul

II. The Teachings of Paul

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In the previous discussion* we considered what Jesus taught in regard to freedom. We shall now try to discover what light Paul throws on the subject.

As has already been noted, the Greek word *eleutheria,* translated freedom and liberty, is found in Paul's writings in its various forms more frequently than in the Gospels. It occurs at least thirty times. It is interesting to note, by way of observation, that the word appears eleven times in Galatians.[1] The Epistle, consequently, is sometimes called the Epistle of Freedom. The word occurs six times in Romans[2] and seven times in First Corin-

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*See The Union Seminary Review for February, 1943, pages 140-161. The bibliography is given in pages 160-161 of that number.

[1]Galatians 2:4; 3:28; 4:22, 23, 26, 30, 31; 5:1, 13.

[2]Romans 6:18, 20, 22; 7:3; 8:2, 21.

thians.[3] We may say, then, that its use is confined largely to three epistles.

Freedom, as used in the Gospels, connotes release from something that binds or hinders, so our first task is to see whether Paul viewed freedom in the same light. It does not take us long to discover that the idea of bondage has a place in Paul's thinking. He used the word several times.[4] Frequently he referred to bond-servants, those in bonds, and bondmen. Besides, he used various figures which clearly indicate the absence of freedom. According to Paul, then, the man out of Christ is in bondage. Now the question is, to what is he in bondage? Does Paul teach that the man is in bondage to the law, to sin and to death as Jesus did, or is Paul's conception of bondage different? From what is man set free, according to Paul?

I. Freedom According to Paul

To Paul, freedom meant two things: release and realization.

1. *Release.* (1) In the first place, Paul taught that man is freed from the bondage of the law. "But now we have been discharged from the law."[5] "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death."[6] "For freedom did Christ set us free: Stand fast therefore and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage."[7] (The yoke of bondage was none other than the observance of ceremonial rites, particularly circumcision). "A man is not justified by the works of the law."[8]

Law is a word of many meanings, and at times Paul, like the other writers of the New Testament, used it to denote any authoritative ordinance. To Paul, law was largely "a system of commands and restrictions, inviting obedience by the offer of reward, and visiting infringement with the threat of a curse and death."[9] It was a body of instruction calling for obedience. Thus the 'law'

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[3]I Corinthians 7:21, 22, 39; 9:1, 19; 10:29; 12:13.
[4]Romans 8:21.
[5]Romans 6:14.
[6]Romans 8:1-2.
[7]Galatians 5:1.
[8]Galatians 2:16.
[9]R. B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul,* p. 115.

of the husband[10] set forth woman's obligation to her husband in his lifetime. The 'law' of Christ and of God[11] set forth man's duty to Christ and to God. Incidentally he also spoke of the 'law' of life,[12] the 'law of sin and of death,'[13] the 'law of righteousness.'[14] But more often by 'law' Paul meant the Jewish law, and it is with his relation to law in this special sense that we are concerned.

Now it is impossible to find a simple definition in which to express Paul's conception of the Jewish law. He viewed it not as a mere system of moral demands but as half-personal reality.* He often spoke of the law as a tyrant, hostile to man as God is not; a pedagogue, not in the sense that we think of a pedagogue today, but as a slave allowed to rule over a child;[15] 'guardians and stewards,' to whom we have to render obedience and accounting as if we were slaves.[16]

But whatever may be Paul's conception of the Jewish law, at first he regarded it as the perfect expression of the divine will. To him the law was 'holy' and 'spiritual,[17] therefore it must be observed and enforced.[18] For a time he endeavored, with all of the intensity of his soul, to meet its demands, but it was while attempting to fulfill the moral requirements of the law that Paul made two great discoveries.

The first discovery he made was that it was impossible to meet all of the demands of the law. The law demanded perfect obedience, but it was cold, inert, passive. It pointed to the path of right and duty, but there its function ended. It gave no help toward the performance it required. And even if he kept nearly all of the law, yet failed in one precept, that one failure broke up the entire

[10]Romans 7:2.
[11]Galatians 6:2.
[12]Romans 8:2.
[13]Romans 8:2.
[14]Romans 9:31.
*"Such 'hypostasization' was common both in Judaism and the Hellenism of Paul's time." Sydney Cave, *The Gospel of St. Paul,* p. 130.
[15]Galatians 3:24.
[16]Galatians 4:1.
[17]Romans 7:12, 14.
[18]Acts 22:3, 4.

system, for it is written, "cursed is every one which continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them."[19] Law, therefore, had no mercy. Instead of its helping him to win the divine favor, it made him aware of the divine displeasure; 'the wrath of God' abode upon him. There was no place for forgiveness, for mercy. The law allows no discount. Further, instead of the law's helping him as a sinner, it provoked him to even more sin. To the Romans he wrote, 'For the law worketh wrath; but where there is no law, neither is there transgression."[20] That reminds one of Jesus' statement, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin."[21] In a word, there is no responsibility for the violation of a non-existent law, but when there is a law, man is obligated to keep it. If he tries to keep it and fails, it provokes him to 'wrath,' or if he fails to keep it and is accused by those interested with its enforcement, he is again provoked to 'wrath.' More than that, it produces a feeling of hatred toward God, enmity.[22] He discovered that it was impossible to become righteous by the 'works of the law.'[23] Even should one comply with all the ceremonial requirements, these are non-effective if the other demands of the law are violated. "For circumcision indeed profiteth, if thou be a doer of the law, but if thou be a transgressor of the law thy circumcision is become uncircumcision."[24]

The other discovery he made was the way in which man could become righteous. "But now apart from the law, a righteousness of God hath been manifested," and this righteousness is obtainable "through faith in Jesus Christ . . . being justified freely [that is, gratuitously] by his grace through the redemption [or deliverance] that is in Christ Jesus."[25] The righteousness, therefore, which man could not earn as a reward, nor claim as a right, God bestows as a free gift. Justification on any other ground than the free and unforced favor of God is impossible, for none deserve it—"for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." Knoch cautions

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[19]Galatians 3:10; Deuteronomy 27:26.
[20]Romans 4:15.
[21]John 15:22.
[22]Romans 8:7f; 5:10.
[23]Galatians 2:16.
[24]Romans 2:25.
[25]Romans 3:21f.

us to remember that while God's future judgment is based on acts, His present gifts are absolutely spoiled the moment we connect them with any suspicion of merit or work. Justification is as free as sunlight. In judgment He will pay everyone who is entitled to wages. He will not be in debt to anyone. But when He gives, He gives, and refuses to allow His gifts to be paid for, even if any one could pay the price. The acceptance of God's gift is made by faith. "Justification is for him who is not working, but who is believing. This distinguishes the gospel from all other religions, divine or pagan."[26]

(2). In the second place, Paul taught that man is freed from the shackles of the flesh. "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin [or, as an offering for sin,] condemned sin in the flesh . . . but ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you . . . and if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness."[27] What did Paul mean by the 'flesh'? We wish that Paul had defined it. However, the detailed account of the effects severally produced under the caption of 'works of the flesh' clearly indicate the nature of the flesh. "The works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, parties, envyings, drunkenness, revelings, and such like."[28] Put simply, flesh to him represented the uncontrolled desire to overt acts of sin. Burton defined it as "the forces in men that make for evil."[29] Since these forces in men manifest themselves through the agency of the body, which is flesh, flesh and body were to Paul figures for sin, and the material elements.

Now the problem of the ages has been how to get rid of sin and bring into "harmonious adjustment" the material and immaterial

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[26]A. E. Knoch, *Concordant Version*, p. 7001.
[27]Romans 8:2f; See Galatians 5:16-18.
[28]Galatians 5:19, 20.
[29]A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*, Epistle of Paul, page 313.

elements—the flesh or body on the one side, the mind, soul, or spirit, on the other. Various schools of thought presented various solutions. For example, such thinkers as Pythagoras held out little hope for any "harmonious adjustment" on earth. They regarded the body as "a prison-house in which the mind was held captive, or a grave in which it lay entombed," and hence deliverance was impossible as long as man dwelt "in this muddy vesture of decay." Cynics, later Stoics and, after Paul's day, men like Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus, believed 'harmonious adjustment" was possible by subjecting the body to rigorous treatment and contempt.[30] Some went so far as to regard total annihilation as the only means for securing salvation of the body. Then, of course, there were those men such as Epicurus, and later Molière and Rousseau, who seemingly showed no concern for "harmonious adjustment." The here and now was the all-important. The indulgence of the senses was allowable and desirable, and so the body was the means through which unbridled license, excess and sensualism could express themselves. Thus, some regarded the body as totally evil and worthy of punishment. Others regarded it as not so bad.

How did Paul regard the body? There are times when he seemed to have regarded the body as essentially evil, and therefore it should be crucified. In Colossians he wrote, "Put to death, therefore, your members which are on earth,"[31] that is, the body. In Corinthians he said, "I buffet," literally, beat black and blue, "my body, and bring it into bondage."[32]

But most of the time he held the body in high regard. There are several reasons why he did so. For one thing, Paul believed the body, which included all of man's faculties, under the sanctifying influence of the Spirit could be redeemed and transformed. Note the prayer he offered in behalf of the Thessalonians. "The God of peace himself sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'[33] And to the Philippians he wrote, Jesus "shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation."[34] For

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[30]R. B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul,* page 63.
[31]Col. 3:5.
[32]1 Cor. 9:27.
[33]I Thessalonians 5:23.
[34]Philippians 3:21.

another thing, Paul regarded the body as 'bought with a price' and was so redeemed for a purpose. "Ye are not your own; for ye were bought with a price: glorify God therefore in your body."[35] "Being made free from sin, ye become servants of righteousness."[36] Thirdly, he taught that man's body may become a shrine of God. "The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body."[37] "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you?"[38] "Present . . . your members as instruments of God."[39]

To Paul, then, the flesh or the body was the battleground in which the forces of righteousness and the forces of sin were contending for supremacy. "For I know that in me, (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but to do that which is good is not. For the good which I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I practice. But if what I would not, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me. I find then the law, that, to me who would do good, evil is present. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members."[40] But worse than that, his very nature being sinful, victory for the forces of righteousness was impossible. No wonder Paul cried, "O wretched man, who shall deliver me out of the body of this death."[41] But it is not necessary for man to remain in the bondage of sin, because God, "sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh," made man free from the law of sin and of death.[42] "Him who knew no sin, God made to be sin for us."[43]

Cave describes the matter in this way. He says, "Sin had got

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[35]I Corinthians 6:19, 20.
[36]Romans 6:18.
[37]I Corinthians 6:19.
[38]I Corinthians 6: 13.
[39]Romans 6:13.
[40]Romans 7:18-23.
[41]Romans 7:24.
[42]Romans 8:2.
[43]II Corinthians 5:21.

possession of human flesh, and made flesh its ally. But 'Christ had come in flesh, like ours, in everything but this, that over His flesh sin did not rule.' Thus in His flesh sin had been defeated, and by that victory, we, too, can be free of sin's tyranny. God had placed His sinless Son in this sinful life of man, and in that life He had conquered sin, and so enabled us to share His righteousness. Because of this we are meant to reckon ourselves 'dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus.' Sin need no longer reign in our body, for we are now not under law, but grace."[44] Man is freed not only from sin's guilt but also from sin's power. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? . . . For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."[45] "Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us out of the present evil world [or age] . . . ."[46]

(3.) In the third place, Paul taught that man was delivered from the tyranny of death. "The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law: but thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."[47] Paul put death among the powers which tend to separate men from the love of God.[48] But he was not without hope, for he believed Christ changed the nature of death. He removed its sting. The body may die but the spirit lives on. As a Christian, then, he viewed death not as the end but merely as a period of transition, when mortality puts on immortality; a transfer from a house on earth to "a house not made by hands, eternal in the heavens."[49] And when death drew near, he rejoiced because by dying he would go to be with Christ, which was better far.[50] Dying still remains. Death is still

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[44]Sydney Cave, *The Gospel of St. Paul,* page 158.
[45]Romans 8:35-38.
[46]Galatians 1:4.
[47]I Corinthians 15:56, 57.
[48]Romans 8:38.
[49]I Corinthians 5:1.
[50]Philippians 1:21.

operating in our bodies at all times, and eventually succeeds in dragging us down to the grave. But from the servitude of death Christ has set men free. According to Paul, the time is coming when we shall not only be restored to life but enjoy incorruption and deathlessness, our body being so changed and glorified as to correspond with His glorious body.

2. *Realization.* But Christian freedom connotes more than mere release from restraints. Man is not free until his highest self is awakened within him, until he has the power to realize all the best and highest capacities of his nature. He has infinite capacities for becoming.[51] "In his life there are the promise and potency of Godlikeness."[52] Therefore the question that ought to be uppermost in one's mind is: Am I becoming what I am intended to be?

Now self-realization is possible only through harmony with God, "who has made us, and the order of which He is the center and goal." Moreover, freedom is impossible on any other basis. Man is free only when he lives according to law and order, for "freedom comes not from chaos, but from the ordered direction of human personality."[53] When man is in harmony with God, then he is really free and possesses an inner power that enables him to meet external restraints, which are inescapable, for "liberty is not exemption from commandment," Maclaren reminds us, "but harmony with commandment. Whoever finds that what is his duty is his delight is enfranchised. We are at liberty when we walk within the limits of the gospel; and they who delight to do the law are free in obedience; free from the tyranny of their own lust, passions, and inclinations; free from domination of men and opinions and common customs and personal habits."[54]

Dr. Fosdick illustrates the idea of inner freedom in this way. "A young tree," he says, "set out in a city's park with an iron cage around it for support may well resent the humiliation of that external curb, but if all the freedom which the tree seeks is release from that encumbrance, it will discover that the only freedom

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[51]John 3:2.
[52]W. H. G. Thomas, *Devotional Commentary*—Genesis, Part I, page 28.
[53]H. B. Blakely, *Facing Life's Questions,* page 174.
[54]Alexander Maclaren, *Exposition of the Holy Scripture,* James, p. 392.

which it has achieved is freedom to fall over when the winds blow. The first step toward real freedom for that tree is to grow deep roots of its own on which it can depend." Then he adds, "Freedom never is obtained by mere release from limitations; freedom is the positive substitution of self-control for external restraints."[55] That was Paul's viewpoint. According to him, while freedom included release from the inhibitions of the Jewish law, the thraldom of the flesh and the tyranny of death, it involved even more. To him, freedom involved the possessing of power to submit to outward restrictions so as to achieve a larger liberty thereby. "For," says he, "though I was free from all men, I brought myself under bondage to all, that I might gain the more."[56] Freedom, then, does not excuse one from restraint, but, as Dr. Campbell puts it, "It shifts the source of restraint, so that it is no longer applied forcibly from without, but flows freely from within."[57]

Moreover, man voluntarily yields allegiance to the omnipotent will. Paul's teachings sometimes form a strange paradox. For example, we find him in one place claiming freedom—"am I not free?"[58]—and in the next confessing that he was in bondage—"I brought myself under bondage to all."[59] How could he be free and a slave at the same time? He was free not in the sense that he was no longer subject to restraints, to laws and authority; but in the sense that he found a new law, 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus,' in place of the ancient prohibitory 'law of sin and death,' and this law made him free in his inner life. "He that was called in the Lord," he writes, "being a bondservant [civically] is the Lord's freedman [inwardly], likewise he that was called being free [civically] is Christ's slave [inwardly]." He was a slave in the sense that he was as loyal to Jesus Christ and the gospel as he was zealous for the law. Besides, this slavery was no longer the slavery of fear and despair, but the yielding of willing allegiance. Instead of strained obedience to arbitrary prescriptions,[60] it was

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[55]H. E. Fosdick, *Twelve Tests of Character,* p. 23.
[56]I Corinthians 9:19.
[57]R. F. Campbell, *Freedom and Restraint,* page 181.
[58]I Corinthians 9:1.
[59]I Corinthians 9:19, 22.
[60]Galatians 5:23; See also Romans 7:3; Galatians 2:4; 5:1.

loving conformity to the will of God. He became 'obedient from the heart,' when he 'was set free from sin' and became a bond-servant to the righteousness of God.[61]

Freed from the bondage of the law and the flesh, he became the ready slave of the will of God. The will he once opposed he now rejoiced in. The will he once chafed against now became his delight. And though his body was not freed entirely from the tremendous power of past habits and the conflict of desires,[62] self-will was no longer in command of his life, seeking its own. But God was, and with His aid he was enabled to realize the highest ideal of human character, the doing of God's will and living as God desires. And so it is with everyone who truly loves the Lord; he becomes the willing bond-servant of God, seeking to do His will and to make his life count for the most. He agrees with Tennyson, who sang:

> "Our wills are ours, we know not how,
> Our wills are ours, to make them Thine."[63]

Once more, man has immediate access to God and a fuller communication of His Spirit. Paul, referring to the Old Testament method of approaching God, called it a "yoke of bondage."[64] How difficult it was for the Old Testament believer to come into the presence of God! He had to come through what Dr. Fosdick calls "ceremonial behavior."[65] The ceremonial law prescribed specific sacrifices that had to be offered in a particular way, and unless these were performed with exactness and from the heart, man's worship was not pleasing to God. Besides, he could come only through the medium of priests in an outward sanctuary and with the aid of sacrifices, all of which was of little avail, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews points out. For he says, "It is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins . . . and every priest indeed standeth day by day ministering and

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[61]Romans 6:17, 18.
[62]Galatians 5:17.
[63]*In Memoriam,* Proem.
[64]Galatians 5:1.
[65]H. E. Fosdick, *A Guide to Understanding the Bible,* p. 113.

offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, the which can never take away sins."[66]

On the other hand, the Christian has easy access to God and has the assurance that he will be received. "But he, [that is, Jesus Christ], when He had offered one sacrifice for sins, sat down on the right hand of God [representative of a finished task] . . . for by one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified . . . and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more."[67] Thus, through the propitiation of the perfect High Priest, the demands of the law are satisfied and there is credited to the account of every believer the perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ. And since the guilt of the believer's sin has actually been extinguished and the demands of the law fully satisfied, he is no longer held back by the bonds of law and sin, nor does he need a priest, but he has immediate access to "the very holy place by the blood of Jesus."[68] Not only do believers of the New Testament have immediate access to God, but the fear that tormented is no more, and with boldness they may approach Him. "This greater boldness now enjoyed, evidently results," says Hodge, "from the clearer and fuller revelation of the method and completeness of redemption and the greater fullness in the communications of the Holy Ghost who has changed from an earthly visitor to an indwelling, abiding presence."[69] Since, according to Canon Liddon, true liberty is the unimpeded movement of man's will toward God, we can say, then, that when a man finds delight in the presence of God, is pleased to do the will of God, is ready to suffer for God, he is indeed free. And that is what Paul taught.

II. How Christian Freedom Is Secured

Christian freedom is attainable only through the Holy Spirit. "Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."[70] "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus

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[66]Hebrews 10:3, 11.
[67]Hebrews 10:12, 14, 16.
[68]Hebrews 10:19.
[69]*Commentary on the Confession of Faith,* page 357.
[70]II Corinthians 3:17.

made me free from the law of sin and death."[71] "If ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law."[72] "So it comes to pass," as Davison puts it, "in the course of Christian experience, as at its happy beginning, a Breath comes from above which we can hear, but not see, and does its own work of enfranchisement in the struggling soul. . . . The Divine Power lifts, wafts, bears the spirit on and up, far beyond the regions of conflicting desire and the cramping fetters of inveterate self-love."[73] In a word, when man has the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, he has a 'divine Power' which Mosaic legalism lacked. Having experienced the presence and action of the Spirit in a way and to a degree unknown to him in his Jewish, Pharisaic days, Paul was convinced that it was the fact of the Spirit's presence in the lives of men that made the religious life in Christianity superior to that under the law. This Spirit was obtained through faith. For example, when the Galatians were in danger of relapsing into Mosaic legalism, Paul asked this question: "Did you receive the Spirit through what you did according to the law? Or what you heard in faith?"[74]

Does Paul indicate how the Spirit helps to free man? In Corinthians we read, "For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.[75] 'Letter' possibly stands for the Mosaic Law, which was engraven in stone to symbolize its unyielding sternness. Whereas 'spirit,' while it is not written with a capital S, as the majority of references are, in the light of the context and the description of what the Spirit does, must refer back to the 'Spirit of the Living God,'[76] or the Holy Spirit. Hence we are told something in this text about the Spirit in relation to the law.

Now law, as we have seen, cannot help man, because it works on man from without and makes severe demands without helping man fulfil them. There is no question about the power of the law, but it is a cold, rigid power which makes man aware of sin, condemns him for his transgressions and passes upon the guilty

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[71]Romans 8:2.
[72]Galatians 5:18.
[73]W. T. Davison, *The Indwelling Spirit,* page 132.
[74]Galatians 3:2, 5.
[75]II Corinthians 3:6.
[76]II Corinthians 3:3.

the hopeless sentence of death. Findlay says, "In the majesty of its unbending sternness it can only be satisfied by our continuing in all things that it prescribes. Every instance of failure, attended with whatever excuse or condonation, leaves upon us its mark of self-reproach. And this inward condemnation, this consciousness of guilt latent in the human breast, is not self-condemnation alone, not a merely subjective state; but it proceeds from God's present judgment on the man. It is the shadow of His just displeasure."[77] Paul knew whereof he spoken when he said 'the letter killeth,' for he had tasted the bitterness of the Judaic yoke; no man more deeply. He had felt the weight of its impossible exactions, its fatal condemnation.

On the other hand, "the Spirit giveth life." The Spirit of God, given to those who receive Christ in the Gospel, also possesses power, and it is life-giving power. He works from within, entering the heart, stimulating the will and affections, thus making the recipient not only able but also willing to obey God. The Spirit, with His quickening energy, working in the heart of man, makes man of himself love and do the things which the law requires. The Spirit, therefore, takes the place of the law's "outward prescriptions and magisterial authority.' The Spirit counteracts and overcomes the impotence to good; He reverses the sentence of death; therefore, as Denney puts it, "the soul looks out to and anticipates not the blackness of darkness forever but the everlasting glory of Christ."[78]

If the Spirit, then, frees the Christian from the penalties of the law and so quickens him that he loves and does the things which the law requires, can we not dispense with law? We could if the work of spiritual renovation was perfected in us. If men were sufficiently possessed of the Spirit they would no longer need the restraint and discipline of law. Doing what the law requires without being compelled to do it would make them superior to the law. But imperfection still clings even to the child of God, and so we can never safely dispense with the law as a moral governor. Fairbairn suggests that we need the law of God for three reasons.[79]

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[77] *An Exposition of the Bible,* Luke-Galatians, Vol. V, p. 859.
[78] *An Exposition of the Bible,* Luke-Galatians, Vol. V, p. 747.
[79] P. Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture,* Vol. II, P. 173.

First, we need the law to keep us under grace, as the source of all our security and blessing. The law must be our schoolmaster, not only to bring us to Christ at the beginning of a Christian life, but also afterwards to keep up there, and to force continually back upon us the conviction that we must be in all respects the debtors of grace. Again, we need it to hold us back from those sins which we might otherwise be inclined to commit. Once more, we need the law to present continually before the eye of the mind a clear representation of the righteousness which, through the grace of the Spirit, believers should ever be striving to attain.

But how does the Spirit liberate man from the bondage of the flesh? "Ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."[80] Paul suggests that the Spirit helps to liberate man from the bondage of the flesh, first, by changing the attitude of man's mind from enmity to God to fellowship with God.[81] In Romans Paul devotes considerable space to a discussion of the 'fleshly mind' versus the mind influenced by the Spirit.[82] According to Paul, the mind or soul of the natural man, or man out of Christ, has taken on the taint, weakness and corruption of the flesh;[83] hence it became a fleshly mind, darkened, unpenitent, hardened, minding the things of the flesh, which things are hostile to God. But all this changes when the Spirit comes into one's life. Where the mind was weak, it becomes strong; where it yielded to the corruption of the flesh and was doomed to die, it yields to the will of God and is assured of life.[84] Where it once was at enmity with God, it now enjoys life and peace.[85] Secondly, the Spirit helps to liberate man from the flesh by working in him what Hoyle calls a transubstantiation, that is, a change from one form or substance to another. "Within the scaffolding or the ordinary bodily life of the Christian a new life is arising, 'a spiritual body' is forming, which will be like that of the Risen Glorified Christ. As the soul on earth corresponds to its earthly

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[80]Romans 8:9.
[81]Galatians 5:16.
[82]Romans 8:6-11.
[83]Colossians 2:18; Romans 8:7; Romans 1:21, 28; 2:5.
[84]Romans 8:7.
[85]Romans 8:6.

body, so the constant worshipping of the Spirit of God within the human spirit will fit the human spirit for the 'spirit body' adapted to life in the Kingdom of God, which flesh and blood cannot inherit; at the resurrection that 'spirit body' will be completed, but the process is going on during the earthly life. It will be a 'body of glory' like that of the Risen Lord whom Paul saw at Damascus (Philippians 3:21; II Corinthians 4:6)."[86] Paul used various figures to describe this change. He calls it the putting on of incorruption, immortality,[87] the putting off of the old man and the putting on of the new,[88] being "clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven,"[89] putting on Christ.[90] The Spirit liberates man from the tyranny of death. "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall give life also to your mortal bodies through his Spirit that dwelleth in you."[91]

Now what effect did the power of the Spirit have on Paul? It strengthened him to endure trials. The power of the Spirit was an unfailing spring of moral energy that enabled him to suffer pain and endure hardships. Writing to the Corinthians he said, "We faint not; but though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day."[92] The power of the Spirit gave Paul the moral perception whereby he could choose the things that were vital. Writing to the Philippians, he said he prayed that their "love might abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all discernment so that they could approve the things that are excellent." And he prays that the Ephesians may be "rooted and grounded in love in order that they may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge."[93] And the power of the Spirit enabled Paul to appreciate the will

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[86]R. B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul*, page 70.
[87]I Corinthians 15:53f.
[88]Colossians 3:10; Ephesians 4:24; Romans 13:14.
[89]II Corinthians 5:3.
[90]Galatians 3:27.
[91]Romans 8:11.
[92]II Corinthians 4:16.
[93]Philippians 1:10; Eph. 3:17.

of God. "Be not conformed according to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God."[94]

A question now naturally arises. If the Holy Spirit has such power, does the Spirit supersede human personality? The answer is, No. For while the Spirit moves upon the soul or mind of man, God cannot, even through His ample power, bring the soul into a disposition it does not wish to feel. The Spirit does not supersede human personality but liberates it and gives it strength to exercise its new-found freedom. "The working of the Spirit upon the will is not like the unescapable fate of which Greek tragedians speak, nor like a blind force acting irresistibly and mechanically upon unresponsive recipients, nor the suspension of the conscious will as in trance-states and in moments of 'possession.' The entire working is morally and psychologically conditioned. Otherwise there could be no ethical life, for that requires personal freedom for decision. The human will is at work; it is called upon to exercise faith, that is, be receptive and responsive to the Spirit's prompting."[95] But man is free to act, and he can frustrate the Spirit's action. The Spirit can be resisted, grieved, and even quenched.[96] However, Paul in Romans speaks about 'being led by the Spirit,'[97] which implies a willing surrender to His leading, a voluntary appropriation of the Spirit and His gifts. Hence Paul exhorts the Galatians to 'walk by the Spirit,' 'live by the Spirit,' even when 'led by the Spirit!'

Thus we see that both Christ and Paul taught the doctrine of freedom. Both believed that man is in bondage and therefore needs liberation. Both taught that man is in bondage to three things: sin, the law, and death. Both indicated that it is possible to be freed from these three things which make bond-servants of men. However, the freedom promised is entirely different from the average conception of freedom. According to both Christ and

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[94]Romans 12:2.
[95]R. B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul,* page 73.
[96]Ephesians 4:30; I Thessalonians 5:19.
[97]Romans 8:14.

Paul, freedom does not mean escape from the temptations of sin, release from the law, excuse from the demands of death. But he is free who desires to will and to do as he ought, who is moved no longer by the constraining motive of fear but by the ennobling impulse of love and hope. Both Christ and Paul taught that man can enjoy this freedom. They taught that man has no right to fear the power of sin, because Christ not only conquered 'the evil one,' but exerts a supernatural power over the soul which changes the affections and motives and releases the will from the curse of the law; because He assumed man's obligation to the law and met all of its demands. And as for death, Christ took away its sting, and the believer is assured that he will have eternal life as a present reality. Furthermore, he is assured that, when death claims the body, that does not mean the end of existence but merely a change in its habitation.

But while Christ and Paul are in hearty accord in regard to the doctrine of freedom, Paul seems to make one distinction from that of Christ, and that is in regard to the way freedom becomes effective in the life of the believer. Christ claims that He secured man's freedom,[98] whereas Paul says man's freedom is secured through the Holy Spirit. When we realize that all Christ did and does is accomplished through the power of the Spirit, that the Spirit is Christ's agent, we can say that there is no conflict in the thought and teaching of Christ and that of Paul. Christ is the procuring agent of these blessings; the Spirit, the applying agent. The same Spirit who gave Christ the power to secure these blessings helps to make these blessings effective in the life of the believer. The difference, therefore, seems to be one of emphasis. Christ emphasized why freedom is possible. Paul emphasized how freedom is procurable.

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[98]John 8:36.

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE:

A Study of the Teachings of Jesus

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There are few phases of the Christian teaching on life after death which have caused more confusion in popular thought than the intermediate state,—the period between the death of the individual and the final resurrection and judgment. Interest is universal, as all want to know where our departed loved ones are now and what lies immediately beyond the portals of death for us. As pastors minister in homes where death has come, this problem is brought to them as often as any other in the whole field of life after death.

Yet in spite of the general interest and desire for knowledge there is a great confusion of thought in the Church regarding this phase of belief. The difficulty caused by the difference in doctrine between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches has been further augmented by divergent views of various Protestant theologians. Many ministers have never clearly thought out their own opinions, while others, in seeking to arrive at a definite conclusion, have found such a vast difference of opinion that in despair they have assumed an agnostic position on the subject.

This difference of opinion rests ultimately on the meager material in the Bible and on the many ways the evidence there can be interpreted. This lack of a full doctrinal statement led John Calvin to the following conclusion regarding the intermediate condition of those who have died:

> "Over-curious inquiry respecting their intermediate state is neither lawful nor useful. Many persons exceedingly perplex themselves by discussing what place they occupy, and whether they already enjoy the glory of heaven, or not. But it is folly and presumption to push our inquiries on unknown things beyond what God permits us to know . . . Now, what teacher or doctor shall discover to us that which God has

concealed? The question respecting place is equally senseless and futile; because we know that the soul has no dimensions like the body".[1]

Instead of leading us to despair, however, the acuteness of the problem should inspire us to examine most carefully all the teachings of our Lord to find just what is revealed and what is not. Here the recorded statements of Jesus Himself are our supreme authority.

I. Did Jesus Teach an Intermediate State Distinct from Heaven and Hell?

The first step in studying the intermediate state is to find out if Jesus taught a general resurrection and judgment at a "last day." It is this event which separates the future existence into an intermediate state before the resurrection and the final states of hell and heaven which follow. There can be little doubt that the sayings of Christ as they are recorded in the Gospels reveal definite teachings of such a resurrection and judgment.

The passage in Matthew 22:23-33 (See also Mark 12:18-27 and Luke 20:27-40) is the best evidence. Here Jesus says: "For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven. But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." It can be seen from the context of this passage that the question is not merely of a future existence but also of the resurrection (Matthew 22:23).

Other passages which may be mentioned as showing these events take place at a great day in the future are: the picture of the Last Judgment (Matthew 25:31-46; Luke 11:31-32; John 6:39, 56, etc.). John 5:28-29 is the clearest statement of a resurrection of the unjust: "Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth;

[1]John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* Book III, Chapter XXV, par. VI.

they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment." The efforts of some modern scholars to reject this as not truly Johannine are based on a preconceived idea of the resurrection, without one shred of textual evidence to substantiate them. There are many passages which speak of a "day of judgment." We may well conclude, on the basis of individual passages and on the whole tenor of our Lord's teaching, that there is a general resurrection and judgment of all men at some future date.

The question immediately arises, are we warranted in making the period following the death of the individual and before these events distinct from the final states and giving it a separate name, "intermediate"?

In answering this question it is well to examine first the state of current thought in our Lord's day. In the two or three centuries before Christ a great mass of apocalyptic literature arose. A characteristic of this writing is its intense interest in eschatology and life after death. By studying this literature we can have a clear picture of the state of thought in Jesus' time and are thus enabled to interpret the terms He used and what connotation they brought to His hearers.

The way for the doctrine of an intermediate state was prepared by the Old Testament term "Sheol." This word has caused a great deal of confusion as to its meaning, and undoubtedly it is used in different senses in different parts of the Old Testament. It usually meant a place of meaningless, shadowy existence, with no moral distinctions and no hope of a resurrection to better life. But, as the centuries passed, this non-moral, hopeless conception changed. Even in the Old Testament we can find hints of a resurrection out of Sheol and future rewards and punishments on a moral basis. Thus in the book of Daniel, though Sheol is regarded as the final state of most people, there are some who are raised out of this existence. Those who have been unusually good are raised to a new life of glory while those who have been outstandingly evil have a resurrection to shame and damnation. The well known passage says: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and

everlasting contempt. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmanent; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (Daniel 12:2-3).

Isaiah 26:19 hints at Sheol being an intermediate state for some at least: "Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth her dead."

But it was in the apocalyptic literature which grew up between the Testaments that the doctrine of Sheol as an intermediate state was further developed. Even here there is much variety of thought, and some writers cling to the old conception of a shadowy, hopeless existence which is the final end of good and evil alike. But there was a growing idea that such could not be the final state of all. A great mass of writers came to regard Sheol as an intermediate state, from which there is a resurrection both of the good and the evil to their final states of rewards and punishments. In the Book of Enoch (chapter 22) a visit to the underworld is described, and it appears that Sheol is divided into four abodes, two for the righteous and two for the wicked. Though one class of these wicked remain there forever, and Sheol is thus their final state, those of the other class are raised up and pass on to Gehenna.

II Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse) definitely teaches that Sheol is an intermediate state, with degrees of punishments and rewards. The wicked are said to be tortured in this place, but their lot is worse in hell after the judgment. Many other passages might be cited.

Josephus, who lived from 37 to 101 A. D., implies that the Pharisees of his day taught an intermediate state for the righteous, from which they are raised to glory, but no such state for the wicked, for they go straight to eternal punishment. We read:

> "They [the Pharisees] also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again."[2]

[2]F. Josephus, *Antiquities of The Jews,* Book XVIII, Ch. 1, par. 3.

Thus we see that by our Lord's day a great change had taken place in the conception of the next world. The most common idea was of a temporary state after death, with some joys for the good and some punishments for the wicked, but with a resurrection from this life to the full rewards and punishments of the final state.

The recorded words Jesus gave on the subject are few, as Calvin pointed out, perhaps because the Gospel writers were expecting His early return and thus put their emphasis on the judgment and final states. What sayings we have are open to many interpretations, but in the light of the above background there is no reason to believe Jesus departed from the general understanding of his day in this respect, and there is real evidence that He did conceive of the period before the resurrection as different from that which followed.

If the state of all men before the resurrection were exactly the same as their condition following it, there would be no purpose in the resurrection at all. We generally conceive of the resurrection as accomplishing three things: (1) clothing souls with some medium of expression we call bodies; (2) publicly declaring their justification or condemnation at the judgment; and (3) completing the full members of the saved and the lost. If it be admitted that these three things are accomplished then, they will be sufficient to separate the period before as distinct from the period after, and warrant speaking of an "intermediate state."

The Westminster *Confession of Faith* seems at the first reading to affirm that there is no such state. We read in chapter 32:

> "The bodies of men, after death, return to dust, and see corruption; but their souls (which neither die nor sleep) having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none."

It is definitely stated that there is no "place" other than heaven or hell for the departed. However, the intermediate state is not necessarily another "place" but may mean a different "state" of existence in heaven or hell prior to the last day. It is expressly stated here that the souls of both good and wicked are without bodies till the resurrection and that then "all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls forever." The fact that prior to the resurrection souls are bodiless shows that their condition, if not their place, is different from the final state and warrants using the term "intermediate state" to describe their existence.

Calvin mentions such a distinction in these words:

> "In the meanwhile, as the Scripture uniformly commands us to look forward with eager expectation to the coming of Christ, and defers the crown of glory which awaits us till that period, let us be content within these limits which God prescribes to us that the souls of pious men, after finishing their laborious warfare, depart into a state of blessed rest, where they wait with joy and pleasure for the fruition of the promised glory; and so, that all things remain in suspense till Christ appears as the Redeemer. And there is no doubt that the condition of the reprobate is the same as Jude assigns to the devils, who are confined and bound in chains till they are brought forth to the punishment to which they are doomed."[3]

Hodge has the best conservative statement of the intermediate state. He says:

> "As all Christians believe in the resurrection of the body and a future judgment, they all believe in an intermediate state. That is, they believe that there is a state of existence which intervenes between death and the resurrection; and that the condition of the departed during that interval is, in some respects, different from that which it is to be subsequent to that event. It is not, therefore, as to the fact of an intermediate state, but as to its nature, that diversity of opinion exists among Christians."[4]

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[3]Calvin, *op. cit.*, Book III, Chapter XXV, par. VI.
[4]C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. III, p. 724.

II. The Nature of the Intermediate State Taught by Christ

Since the real point of divergence in opinion is the nature of the intermediate state, it is well to consider what teachings Jesus gave. When we turn to the Gospels we find two principal passages shedding light upon the question.

The first is the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, found in Luke 16:19-33. Let us note that this is a parable, in general form like the other story told in this chapter. Jesus was not giving dogmatic theology but popular description. Let us note also that this parable was not intended primarily to teach life after death. The whole chapter, with the exception of verse 18, is concerned with the stewardship of material goods. This story was told expressly to the Pharisees (vs. 14 and 15), who were said to be lovers of money (v. 14). The purpose of the parable is to teach unselfishness and generosity in the use of material riches in this world, because the conditions in the next life are determined by conduct previous to death.

In this illustration Jesus undoubtedly used figures of current thought, and, as we can see from a study of the apocalyptic literature of this period, the thought forms used here were certainly well known to His hearers. But He would not have so definitely stated the ideas incorporated here unless He believed them true. So, though His use of popular figures does not endorse all the current apocalyptic notions, the things He actually said were not contrary to His own belief.

The question is immediately raised as to whether the parable tells of the intermediate state or the final states in heaven and hell. Undoubtedly the former is true, because the rich man speaks of the five brethren he has on earth and the possibility of their still being saved before their death. Calvin calls "Abraham's bosom" the intermediate state for the good.

The use of the word "Hades" here should be considered carefully. Usually in the New Testament it is used to signify the place of a soul which has left the earth in death, without distinguishing the different conditions which it may include. Paradise and the

place of the wicked may form a part of it. Here, however, the word is used to signify the place of the wicked immediately after death. It should not be identified completely with "Gehenna," as the conditions described here take place before the resurrection. However, we are told of no difference in punishment or hopelessness between this state and Gehenna itself. The phrases "being in torments" and "I am in anguish" show the extreme punishment, while the desire for water carries out the figure of fire in Gehenna. That there is no possibility of escape is shown in verses 25 and 26.

We read of "a great gulf fixed," and, in fact, the whole point of the parable is that there is no opportunity to change from one place to the other. If we admit the possibility of conversion in the future state from Hades to Abraham's Bosom, we not only contradict verses 25 and 26 but destroy the whole point of the parable—i. e., that the future state depends on our present life. Some argue that the rich man is growing better because of his concern over his brethren and that ultimately his punishment will make him good enough to leave Hades. Such a theory, however, has no confirmation in the parable.

The other passage of primary importance is Luke 23:43—"Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise." These are the words of Jesus to the thief on the cross. This is the only time "Paradise" is used by Christ. The word seems to have as its root a Persian word meaning a park, an inclosed garden of beauty. It is used in this sense in the Old Testament. Christ said "today," showing that Paradise can be entered immediately after death. Therefore it is a part of the intermediate state. "Today" is put first in the Greek, showing that the emphasis is on the immediate entrance into Paradise. Calvin regards Paradise as the place of the blessed in the intermediate state, where they rest "until the perfect glory of the heavenly life is fully manifested by the coming of Christ."[5]

From these passages, and from many others, such as John 3:13, which imply an intermediate state, we are able to form some definite conclusions regarding life following death. It is a state of conscious existence of the soul. The wicked already are being

[5]J. Calvin, *Commentary on Luke,* p. 314.

punished while the righteous enjoy fellowship with Christ. There is no possibility of passing from the place of punishment to that of enjoyment. We know with certainty that the life there differs from the final state only in that it is without the resurrection body, that the full number of the saved and lost is not complete, that public justification of the sentences has not been made and that probably the fullness of glory is not complete.

It is possible that the righteous after their death grow in spiritual character until the last day. Some feel this is especially necessary for those who repented late in life with no time for spiritual growth, and for idiots, and for those who die in infancy, being saved by the grace of God with no specific opportunity to develop their spiritual natures.

III. Current Theories of the Intermediate State

1. *The Roman Catholic Doctrine of Purgatory.* Those holding this theory believe that while the soul's ultimate destiny is fixed at death, and those who die in mortal sin go straight to hell, immediate admission to a state of bliss is the privilege of only a few saints. The majority of those who are to be saved are sent for punishment to an intermediate place called purgatory. This chastisement is partly retributive and partly purifying and disciplinary. Its intensity and length are proportional to the sins committed on earth. As soon as a soul is completely purified it leaves purgatory and ascends to heaven. It is taught that prayers and masses will shorten the punishment and that indulgencies may be granted, for purgatory is under the power of the keys claimed by the Roman Catholic Church.

Against this theory the lack of any real Scriptural evidence for it may be stressed. The Roman Catholic theologians themselves make very little use of Scripture material but base their chief arguments on the tradition and authority of the Church. When the New Testament passages cited in support of the doctrine are examined, it is seen that the Roman Catholic theologians cannot hope to find their peculiar doctrine taught in the Bible but are simply seeking sayings on eschatology which do not expressly con-

tradict it and might possibly be explained in accordance with its teaching. Great use is made of II Maccabees 12:42-46, which speaks of offering a sacrifice for the sins of the dead, but this book has been almost universally rejected as non-cannonical. No such practice is mentioned in the Bible.

Many passages (such as Galatians 2:21; Romans 3:28 and Luke 16:26) expressly contradict the view, as well as all that body of teachings which show that Christ's satisfaction is complete and that we are saved through no merit of our own but wholly by His grace, apart from works of law. The abuses to which the doctrine has led in making death a fearful thing for the Christian and the power given the priesthood by the doctrine through the sale of indulgencies, etc., all show the dangers inherent in such a belief.

2. *The Intermediate State As a Place of Sleep.* There are some who teach that souls are unconscious after death until the last day. Advocates of this belief take literally those passages in the New Testament which refer to the dead as asleep (Matthew 9:24; Mark 5:39; John 11:11-13, etc.) However, there is no reason why these passages are not figurative, as most scholars believe. The dead are asleep to our earthly life, and their bodies have the appearance of sleep. But it does not follow that their spirits are unconscious. Sleep may signify rest, peace and security. The imagery of the parable of Lazarus and the rich man and the words of Christ to the dying thief make the theory of unconsciousness improbable.

3. *The Intermediate State As a Place of Probation.* This more common theory holds that the intermediate state is a place of probation—a time of testing, a second chance, and for those who have had no chance in this life an opportunity to be saved. This view is widely held today.

Undoubtedly many difficult problems can be solved by holding this theory. Opportunities for accepting Christ in this life are not equal. Some persons in remote places go through life without ever hearing of Jesus. It is argued that since all salvation is through Christ, every person must have an opportunity of rejecting or accepting Him. Other persons, though they live in Christian

lands, may be so embittered by their early background that their minds are turned against Christ, and these do not have equal opportunity with those who since earliest childhood have been brought up in a Christian atmosphere. Still others, such as idiots and those who die in infancy, have no opportunity to make a decision. We feel it unfair for these to be lost through no fault of their own. But if they are saved, we again feel this unfair to those who have to work and suffer for their Christian faith.

There is the famous test case of two soldiers in a trench, both sinners, in the midst of a great quarrel, with hatred and malice in their hearts. Suddenly one of these is killed by a shell. The other, overwhelmed with contrition, repents, turns to Christ and receives divine forgiveness. Then he, too, is killed.[6] According to the traditional doctrine, the first of these would be sentenced to endless suffering in hell while the latter would go to endless bliss. This judgment seems unfair, because the actions on which it would be based are governed by circumstances.

All such questions serve to show that this world does not offer equal opportunity and full probation. Therefore, it is argued, if God be just, there must be a second chance in the intermediate state, giving all an equal opportunity for accepting or rejecting Christ.

On the other side, when we turn to the Bible for evidence of a future probation, we find complete silence. The very fact that in all Christ's teachings there is no word about future probation is in itself a good argument against it. In fact, there can be little doubt that the whole tenor of Christ's ministry leads us to the opposite conclusion. It seems impossible that Christ could have said some of the things He did, if there be a future probation, unless He was deliberately intending to deceive.

A passage sometimes quoted as implying some sins will be forgiven in the next world is Matthew 12:32—"But whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come." This might conceivably be an implication, though not a natural one, and certainly

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[6]A. H. McNeile, *The Problem of The Future Life*, p. 144.

not a necessary one. The rest of Christ's teaching is against it. That this is evidently a poetical way of saying such sins will *never* be forgiven is found by comparing the parallel passages. In Mark 3:29 we read: "But whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin," and in Luke 12:10 we find: "But unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven."

Matthew 5:26 (Luke 12:58-59 is a parallel passage) is also quoted to substantiate probation: "Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the last farthing." Roman Catholic theologians also quote this in favor of their doctrine of purgatory. Though it is perhaps possible to find a hint of probation here, it is certainly not the natural interpretation, as can be seen by studying the context. Both in Matthew and in Luke the passage is used to call on people to repent in this life, else dire consequences will follow. If it be taught that there can be repentance in the next world, the whole force of the teaching, given for this life, is lost.

We may now mention some sayings of Christ which could hardly have been given if man has another chance to reform after this life. The first, in Luke 16, is the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. Here we read of the "great gulf fixed, that they that would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us" (v. 26). Lazarus is not allowed to minister to the rich man. In spite of the fact that the sinner seems to show some change of heart in his interest in his brothers, no hints are given of his condition being relieved. In fact, if the possibility of his moving over into Abraham's Bosom were mentioned, the whole point of the parable, which is that this life determines the conditions of future life, is lost.

The parable of the wise and foolish virgins, in Matthew 25:1-13, may be mentioned. Here, when the bridgegroom came, the door was shut, and when the foolish virgins asked that they be admitted, they were categorically refused. That these virgins had a chance to try again is not mentioned. This is also true of Luke 13:23-30, especially of verse 25: "When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand with-

out, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us; and he shall answer and say to you, I know you not whence ye are"; and again of verse 27: "And he shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence ye are: depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity." Here also might be mentioned other parables of the same nature, especially the pictorial description of the judgment in Matthew 25:46, where men are assigned to "eternal" destinies wholly on the basis of deeds done during this life, with no suggestion of the judgment being based even in part on deeds done after death.

John 8:21-24 may be mentioned as another one of several passages which imply that there is no probation. "He [Jesus] said therefore again unto them, I go away, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sin. Whither I go ye cannot come . . . for except ye believe that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." In fact, the whole tone of our Lord's teaching brings out the thesis that our present decisions regarding Christ and our ways of life have everlasting issues.

As regards the intellectual problems involved, though the theory of probation after death offers an easy solution, there are certain considerations which mitigate the acuteness of these questions even if we hold probation ends at death. By believing in degrees of rewards and punishments in the future states we ease many of the problems. For instance, though we believe those dying in infancy are saved by the grace of God, undoubtedly they have not reached that spiritual attainment which places them on the level with the great saints who worked and suffered for their faith.

It should also be said that those who have never heard of Christ receive or reject Him unconsciously by how they receive or reject persons who need their loving service. Thus we find the nations in Matthew 25 judged not on the basis of how they reacted to the historical Jesus but how they received the Christ revealed in the lives of needy people.

Let it further be said that God is able to save through Christ even those who have never heard His name. Holding that probation ends at death does not necessarily assume all non-Christians are condemned. As the Westminster Confession of Faith says in Chapter 10, Section 3:

> "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word."

We may rest assured that God's justice will be done perfectly and no one will be unfairly condemned.

Most of those who argue for probation, it may be added, are seeking rational solution to a question which is not answered in the Bible and which it is not the duty of man to answer—the question as to who is to be saved. We are told that those who believe in Jesus are saved and those who reject Him are lost. But we are not given the answer to our curious inquiries regarding those who have opportunity to do neither, probably because it is not our business to decide. We are given orders to confront men with a decision for Christ; it is our business to obey orders.

IV. Conclusion

In summing up this whole paper we conclude that Christ taught an intermediate state, different from the final states in these respects: souls have not yet been clothed with the mediums of expression we call "bodies"; God's justice has not been publicly proclaimed and vindicated in the judgment; and the entire number of saved and lost is not complete. Individuals maintain their personal identity in a state of conscious existence, with the wicked apparently experiencing a measure of punishment and the righteous enjoying fellowship with Christ, though it seems this fellowship will not be complete till the last day. There is no teaching of a possibility of a second chance for the wicked. It is best not to allow our curious desire for a further description of the place and of the activities of the souls there to intrude on the sacred silence of revelation.

THE EVASIONS OF PREACHING

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According to John Bunyan, Legality and Civility and Morality are all good and necessary in their own places; but he is a cheat who would send a guilt-burdened and sick-at-heart sinner to any or all of them. The Wicket Gate first, and then He who keeps that gate will tell us what to do, and where next to go; but any other way out of the City of Destruction but by the Wicket Gate is sure to land us where it landed Evangelist's quaking and sweating charge.

"I am convinced that the welfare of mankind does not depend on the State and the world of politics; the real battle is being fought in the world of thought, where a deadly attack is made with great tenacity of purpose and over a wide field upon the greatest treasure of mankind, the belief in God and the Gospel of Christ."—William E. Gladstone.

There are moods of the soul. There is a time when the preacher wonders if his work is worthwhile. Spiritual exhaustion is the periodic lot of one whose life is given in the service of God. 'Virtue going out of a man' means the expenditure of moral and spiritual reserves to bless others. Paul reminds us in Second Corinthians (4:1) that "as we have experienced mercy we do not lose heart." In this connection there is the charge to us that we "do not adulterate the Word of God." We commend ourselves in our vocation in the measure that we bring theology into living experience by the sincerity and steady habit of expounding the Book for every man. But sometimes no response is found to the message which clamours for consideration. Deaf ears and unattuned spirits are all around, and preaching seems not to touch any chord. In this state of mind the preacher is the prey of uneasy thoughts; questions run riot in the mind concerning the place of preaching today. There

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is the temptation to lose heart and succumb to a dull routine of other 'good works,' while imagining that by such subterfuge we escape from our obligation to continue faithful in "holding forth the Word of Life."

I. Methods

In comparison to lecturing or essay reading or the oratory of the statesman or the propaganda of the radio expert, the task of the preacher seems almost trivial. But we need not suffer any eclipse. No one commands audiences like the preacher. Where is the politician who would have the same constituency of interested people week by week, year after year? The politician's message is passing, ephemeral, but ours is eternal. No! Preaching is a glorious thing, and to conjecture that people no longer relish preaching is a popular fallacy. In our age more 'preachers' are heard than ever, and they reach multitudes throughout the world. By radio, from books and magazines, in newspapers, even street boardings,* their message reaches men. Not that every preacher is a preacher of the everlasting gospel! Long ago, Ezra, in the days of Nehemiah, (Neh. 8:4-8), "read the Word of God in the presence of the people . . . He stood upon a pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose . . . he opened the book in the sight of the people . . . and they read in the book, distinctly; and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading." And our Lord at a later date "came preaching." Magnify, then, the office and technique of preaching: it is divine and sublime work!

There is a tendency to forget that to trim the message to suit people's fancies and wishful thinking is the way of degeneracy of spirit. We must determine needs and not wants as we seek guidance in the choice of the word to be proclaimed. We are purveyors of Truth and therefore need not live in a groove. Some have no difficulty in preaching and teaching along certain lines; arriving with suspicious unanimity at certain conclusions agreeable to this class or church or party. It is easy to criticise the

*Highway signs.

ways of others who do not speak or act as we do, and such criticism may be our own moral condemnation. Then we may be unreal and insincere because we know the truth from the Word of God is challenging and calling us to a new word to be emphasized, and yet we omit it. We read and live and preach in certain favourite portions of Holy Scripture but evade the great stretches of revelation awaiting our mental and spiritual sweating in labour. When did we last preach concerning the decrees of God, His majesty as well as His mercy; or the message of the prophets alive for our contemporary scene; or the work and ministry of the Christ in His present eternal office and state,—to mention but a few much neglected themes in the pulpit? That prince of expositors, Dr. Alexander MacLaren, has called attention to the truth that we are neither priests nor lecturers, but heralds. He says, "the Christian minister's business is to be ever learning and ever teaching more and more of the 'manifold wisdom of God.' He has to draw for himself from the deep, inexhaustible fountains; he has to bear the water, which must be fresh drawn to be pleasant or refreshing, to thirsty lips. He must seek to present all sides of truth, teaching all wisdom, and so escaping from his own limited mannerisms. How many ministers' Bibles are all dog-eared and thumbed at certain texts, at which they almost open of themselves, and are as clear in most of their pages as on the day when they were bought?"

II. Motives

The trick of evasion in the handling of truth is in the minds of most ministers: it is sly and slippery unless we live at the heart of the "gospel of the glory of the blessed God." It may find expression in the round of engagements and the sin of overwork to the neglect of the intake of new illumination and understanding of that which has already been revealed. Every theological student and would-be servant of God should be aware that we are first men before ministers. Our Christian life is lived by the same sources of grace as others. Only we must enter upon a post-graduate course in the spiritual university. Here we do well not

to confuse prejudices with our principles. The mysteries of our creed must needs be transmuted into the moralities of our conduct. That will mean a translucent life wedded to concrete convictions of faith. Robert Browning has succinctly expressed in *Bishop Blougram's Apology,*

> "In every man's career are certain points
> Whereon he dares not be indifferent;
> The world detects him clearly, if he dare,
> As baffled at the game, and losing life."

We traffic in great themes, and are apart from those other 'would-be preachers' already mentioned. We are not dealing with the temporal, the economic, the social, the political, the material things of life, except as they impinge upon the eternal in its application of divine principles for man's daily life. We must make up our minds upon many themes and relate them directly to the current needs of man. Ezekiel said, "I sat where they sat" (3:15), and truly nothing is more exhilarating than to find the word of the Lord "catching the moment" of men's immediate life and thought. Nothing can supersede preaching. A sermonless world would not be a Utopia! Phillips Brooks was right in describing preaching as truth passing through the medium of personality, for therein lies the secret of our mission and message. We bring the only message of eternal worth to meet the clamant needs of man's social, moral and spiritual behaviour.

In this connection we remind ourselves that we are under-shepherds of Him who is the Great, the Good, the Chief Shepherd. The flock looks to us to provide food and pasturage. We lead and are examples in faith and sobriety even as we guide them to the one adequate source of supply. Emile Chartier ("Alain") of France has spoken of this principle in his essay on *Sheep and More Sheep:* "Continuing my studies of sheepish policy . . . I came to realize that the sheep have great power over the shepherd, almost limitless indeed. For if the sheep grow thin, or merely if their wool curls badly, the shepherd is unhappy, and that with no hypocrisy. What if the sheep start dying? Straightway the shepherd seeks out the causes and makes inquiry into grass, water and sheep-dog." "And thus the shepherd would be in

no wise a hypocrite were he to utter to his sheep such words as these: 'Gentlemen of the sheepfold, you who are my friends, my subjects, my masters, deem not that I can hold concerning grass or wind opinions other than are your own . . . I am your memory and I am your foresight, or, more nobly speaking, providence.'"

III. Messages

This is an opportune time to stress the Christian message and to exalt the office and dignity of the preacher. People are not sure of themselves now. They are disturbed about the world in which they live. Cultured paganism is not a success. The idea of progress has been exploded. Science is not necessarily the chief benefactor of the human race, for man does not live by bread alone. The return to barbarism is evidence that men have turned away from the springs of eternal life. They have neglected the Bible, the charter of liberty, the foundation of civilization, the chart and compass of moral and spiritual life. This is the time to stress the great tenets and dogmas of the Christian faith. For a number of decades people have been suspicious of dogma and wistful for faith, but now we discover that true faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the Word of God. This postulates the dogmas of Christianity in its unique and solitary claims as the last word of God. The Church has been tempted to dilute the message of throwing over dogmatic preaching to substitute nebulous meanderings and pious uncertainties in a world in quest of certitude. All these excursions have left men in a maze of bewilderment and destitute of authority. And all this time the Truth remains unshaken and eternal. True, its garb and fashion find infinite variety in expression, but the essential dogmas abide without revision or addition.

Every craft and art of man demand a creed or dogma by which these act and work. The surprising phenomenon in Christendom has been the custom of the Church through her leaders and preachers disparaging and overthrowing creeds! Others have not been slow to seize the hiatus created in Christendom, and the brood of cults, theosophical and unscientific and pseudo-Christian, have rushed in with insistent propaganda concerning so-called truth.

In this way large areas of the world's life have been inundated by the flood of dogmas, racial, blood, totalitarian, demanding and receiving whole-hearted allegiance of body and soul on the part of multitudes. These paganized creeds challenge the very existence of the Christian faith and its gospel by the religious devotion and sacrificial zeal of their devotees. They are not foolish in disparaging creeds or decrying dogmas!

In an earlier period of scouting credal belief, Robert Browning sought to answer the sceptical friend in his *Bishop Blougram's Apology*:

> "Why first, you don't believe, you don't
> and can't,
> (Not statedly, that is, and fixedly
> And absolutely and exclusively)
> In any revelation called divine.
> NO DOGMAS NAIL YOUR FAITH; and what remains
> But say so, like the honest man you are?
> First, therefore, overhaul theology!
> Nay, I, too, not a fool, you please to think,
> Must find believing every whit as hard:
> And if I do not frankly say as much,
> The ugly consequence is clear enough."

We put in a caveat, therefore, against this continual discrediting of a Christian dogmatic. We plead for a return to dogmatic preaching: not harsh, unlovely and uncouth preaching, but gracious, persuasive, Christ-convincing preaching. This generation is one in which man's wisdom has failed to find any durable satisfactions and where earthbound philosophies are bankrupt in saving power. Walter Lippman, in *A Preface to Morals,* has pertinently said: "The irreligion of the modern world is radical to a degree for which there is no counterpart. The passion to disbelieve is so strong that they are unable to believe no matter how perfectly their theoretical dilemmas are resolved." How strange that the witnessing Body of Christ should find itself stressing what it does not believe, in its emptying of creed and its attempted revision of century-tried and demonstrated doctrines of the faith! If ever this age is to regain its moral and spiritual equilibrium it will be by a revival of the apostolic tenets of the Church's faith.

The time is opportune for us to offset this subtle temptation

by once more returning to the central themes of the gospel. Probably preaching as a method has been laughed at in a world given over to 'power politics' and 'earthly wisdom,' but a true understanding of the 'foolishness of preaching' is the only adequate way out of the present morass. The well-known passage from Paul (1 Cor. 1:18) is not admitting that preaching as a way of speaking is vanity and folly, but glorying in the power of the paradox—"the sheer folly of the Christian Message." That word is the *kerygma,* the thing preached, and it was that which challenged the thinking and wisdom and religion of mankind, then and now. This central affirmation is none other than the focussing of the gospel in the redemptive passion of our Saviour Christ. Here is judgment upon sin, sacrificial salvation, Cross, Resurrection, and always an enthroned eternal One active throughout the ages. From the scandal of the Cross issues the glory of the gospel. Every age in history has witnessed a breaking in by God's Spirit in the measure of the emphasis of this heart-message. John Wesley, in his *Journal,* writes on May 27, 1742: "We came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about six, and after a short refreshment, walked into the town. I was surprised: so much drunkenness, cursing, and swearing (even from the mouths of little children) do I never remember to have seen and heard before, in so small a compass of time. Surely this place is ripe for Him who 'came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.'" May 30, "At seven I walked down to Sandgate, the poorest and most contemptible part of town . . . I suppose there might be twelve to fifteen hundred before I had done preaching; to whom I applied those solemn words: 'He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and by His stripes we are healed.'" This miracle of grace is set forth in the Shorter Catechism: "God maketh the reading and the preaching of the Word a means of convincing and converting sinners." If this is the aim of the heart of the servant of God, he will overcome any evasion of preaching the gospel of grace. And there is every encouragement in reading the Westminister Confession of Faith (1:7), which refers to the Bible as claiming that "those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for sal-

vation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned in a due use of the ordinary means may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them."

It is expected that every man will proclaim with emphasis this gospel in his own accent and way. As we grapple with the deep mysteries of revelation again and again for our own profit we shall go forth to our auditors to

> "assert Eternal Providence,
> and justify the ways of God to men,"

so fittingly lined by John Milton in *Paradise Lost.* We shall be saved from the snares of substitutes and shun the trivial and passing subjects of the hour. Concentration upon the immortal themes will bring richness of knowledge and power to touch the heart-strings of human hearts. That everyone will recur often to special things is evidenced by Dr. J. H. Jowett, whose biographer tells how he expressed the gospel by iterating and reiterating the word Grace. It was the 'big theme' to which, above all others, he returned again and again, as if, of all truth, it was the one facet that entranced him. Grace was Jowett's sovereign word.

That which will save a man from this sin of evasion of essential truth is that heart-passion for the gospel already experienced in personal life. A workman should step back at times to look at his task. The one to be pitied most is the man who has no love for his high calling. What drudgery! Norman G. Dunning, in his heart tribute to Samuel Chadwick, that soulful Methodist preacher of England, has disclosed Chadwick's secret of greatness: "I have loved my job with a passionate and consuming love. I would rather preach than do anything else I know in this world. I have never missed a chance to preach. I would rather preach than eat my dinner, or have a holiday, or anything else the world can offer. I would rather pay to preach than be paid not to preach. It has its price in agony of sweat and tears, and no calling has such joys and heartbreaks, but it is a calling an archangel might covet; and I thank God that of His Grace He

called me into this ministry. Is there any joy like that of saving a soul from death? Any thrill like that of opening blind eyes? Any reward like the love of little children to the second and third generation? Any treasure like the grateful love of hearts healed and comforted? I tell you it is a glorious privilege to share the travail and the wine of God. I wish I had been a better minister, but there is nothing in God's world or worlds I would rather be."

The true preacher is one who does not preach about things: he preaches out of the fulness of things because he lives at the heart of truth. As ministers of the Word we must eliminate the possibility of failure. The ultimate necessity is the summoning of the mind and will to do our duty of handling the Word of God without any deceit or evasion. We may well rise up these days to greater things and leave behind the lesser things. With such a vision of the regnant Christ whose gospel as His Ambassadors we proclaim, we need not lose heart with such *dunamis* and *sophia* of God.

"Workman of God, O lose not heart,
but learn what God is like,
And in the darkest battlefield,
thou shalt know where to strike.
Thrice blest is he to whom is given,
the instinct that can tell
That God is on the field, when He
is most invisible.
For right is right, since God is God,
and right in the end must win,
To doubt would be disloyalty, To
falter would be sin."

THE OLDEST CHRISTIAN HYMN-BOOK*

By the Rev. Michael MarYosip, M. A., D. D.,
Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church,
Temple, Texas

It is a pleasure to share with my fellow-ministers and other readers of this article something of the joy that came to me when I came across the hymns of "The Oldest Christian Hymn-book" for the first time. I have been at work on these ancient hymns of the Church for many years. Perhaps it would be interesting to tell how I first ran across them.

I. Manuscripts and Literature

Ten years ago I became deeply interested in the theory of the Aramaic origin of the four Gospels upon reading a book entitled, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel,* by Dr. Burney, of Oxford, and the works of Dr. Torrey, of Yale. This interest grew into a series of lectures which I gave before the faculty and students of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, on "The Oldest Syriac Gospels." It was during these studies that I repeatedly came across references to "Odes of Solomon." These references would speak often of these odes as the oldest Christian hymns, saying that they were written in Syriac or Aramaic. My personal interest was greatly increased by the fact that this was the language which I first lisped as a child, having been born and reared among the Syriac-speaking Christians, who are the only people left who still use Aramaic, the language of our blessed Lord. Here I shall use the words Aramaic and Syriac interchangeably, since they are one and the same language. The word "Syriac" we owe to the Greeks, while "Aramaic" is the proper word both according to the Old Testament and the history of this language.

*Dr. MarYosip plans to publish a book containing these earliest of Christian hymns. He should be glad to know the names of those interested in the purchase of such a book at a price not to exceed $2.50.—Editor.

The oldest Christian hymns were discovered by the late Dr. J. Rendel Harris, of England, on the banks of the Tigris River, not far from the center of the Church which gave them to the world. This discovery was made in January, 1909. He recognized them at once as the long-lost Odes of Solomon, which once stood at the very gate of canonicity. Dr. Harris, a great scholar in the field of Syriac, made the first translation of the hymns and wrote the first book about them,[1] thus beginning a literature which has become most interesting and challenging. A few among the scholars believed that the origin of these hymns was Hebrew and that a later Christian hymn-writer translated them into Aramaic, adapting them to the use of the Christian congregation. Harnack and Abbott so believed. Other scholars thought the hymns to have been written in Syriac.

Two men of great reputation in the field of Semitics wrote the best work on these ancient hymns—Drs. J. Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana.[2] Since that time all who have a right to speak or write on the hymns believe that they were written in Aramaic at a very early date. Harris and Mingana, in their great work, strongly argue for the end of the first century. The latest writing on these hymns is by Dr. J. DeZwaan, of the University of Leyden, in a chapter forming a part of the book printed in 1937 and presented to Dr. K. Lake, of Harvard, by his former students and friends.[3] DeZwaan agrees with Harris and Mingana as to the origin of the hymns within the Aramaic-speaking Church. He recalls that this Church was the first national Church in the world, with its capital in Edessa; that it had the most magnificent sanctuary in the world; and that it was swept out by a great flood which destroyed the city in A. D. 201, but was later restored twice. DeZwaan quotes lines in these ancient hymns which speak of a great flood and a sanctuary. He argues from this, however, that these ancient hymns saw the light of day among these Aramaic Christians at the close of the second century of our era. Let that be

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[1]*Odes and Songs of Solomon,* Macmillan, New York.

[2]*The Odes and Psalms of Solomon.* John Ryland's Library, Manchester, England, 1916 and 1920.

[3]This book, entitled *Quantulacumque,* was published by Christopher's, London.

as it may. It is my belief that DeZwaan has not succeeded in overthrowing the date set by Harris and Mingana. But it is certain that DeZwaan has strengthened their position in proving that the Syriac-speaking Church was a singing Church and that the Greeks sat at her feet and learned the art of praise in the house of God. It is proper to add that if these hymns were written in Aramaic at the close of the first century, we have in these hymns a dialect of Aramaic spoken by our Lord.

The best manuscript containing these hymns is that discovered by Dr. Harris, which is at least four hundred years old, is said to be in a good state of preservation and shows signs of having had a great ancestry. As I write these lines I am looking at a facsimile of this manuscript in beautiful Syriac script. The other manuscript was found by the late Dr. Burkitt in the British Museum. It is defective both in size and script.

II. Arguments for An Early Date

I have said that these hymns stood at the very gate of canonicity. There are some extant Greek masses which refer to another book by Solomon, entitled, *Psalms of Solomon.* The psalms and odes seem to have been put together at an early date. The New Testament Codex Alexandrinus (Codex A) of the fifth century has an index of books in which the Psalms of Solomon are listed. In other ancient lists of the sacred books we find both psalms and odes listed along with other sacred books. There is a book of Athanasius in which he enumerates the sacred Scriptures and where we find psalms and odes of Solomon listed together,—a fact considered important by scholars.

It seems that the Church of Carthage had our hymns. In a listing of sacred Scripture of North African origin, A. D. 359, we find the books of Solomon in listings which, from the number of lines, must include the odes. This gives us a very early date for our hymns. *The Divine Institutes, by Lactantius,* points the reader to the 19th Ode of Solomon. It is now possible to turn to this ode and verify the quotation. Tradition says that Lac-

tantius was quoting from the *Testimony Book,* believed by scholars to run back to apostolic days.

Another line of argument for an early date converges on the date above. Quotations from our hymns in the book, *Pistis Sophia,* are unmistakable. It is known that this book depends on the Sahidic Bible as well as our hymns or Odes of Solomon. This may mean that these ancient hymns were bound up with ancient Bibles. Scholars believe that the Sahidic Bible is not later than the end of the third century. The reader can see at once that the date of Lactantius and the Sahidic Bible meet.

We now turn to quotations from our hymns in the works of the early fathers, where we take the writers or poems of Ephraem the Syrian, a member of the Syriac-speaking Church. He knew no Greek. Harris and Mingana in their work find that he quotes from our hymns. This date is about the end of the fourth century. Ephraem, however, in quoting the hymns, quotes them in connection with the name of Bardaisan, whom he attacks as being unorthodox. This clearly means that either he quotes Bardaisan as the author or they both quoted from our hymns. This line of argument carries us a step further. Bardaisan taught in or near Edessa in the Syriac-speaking Church at the end of the second century. Again, it is proved by the scholars above mentioned that Eusebius, the father of church history, quotes from the Odes of Solomon. In commenting on the second Psalm he uses the 19th and 28th Odes. This is important, because it has been shown that our hymns were in use a full century before Eusebius.

Ignatius, one of the earliest of the church fathers and the third bishop after Peter of Syrian Antioch, is said to have taught his church to sing hymns. A group of passages is given by Harris and Mingana to show that Ignatius borrowed from our hymns. When the hymns were first found, Professor DeZwaan called the attention of scholars to the similarity of language between our hymns and that of Ignatius. When this lead was followed it was found that he did borrow from these old hymns. Now Ignatius wrote about 110 A. D., and in order to make this date stick, Harris and Mingana refer to the Epistle of Barnabas where, in

writing about the person of Christ, he quotes from Ode 1:10-13. This epistle is one of the least valued in the sub-apostolic literature but its date is believed to be about 100 A. D. This early date is made strong when one looks into the Apology of Aristides, addressed to Emperor Hadrian about 130 A. D. Harris and Mingana show that Aristides quotes from the Odes of Solomon, especially Odes 6 and 18. It seems almost certain that our hymns were composed by a member of the Aramaic-speaking Church, not far from Edessa, the seat of the first national Church in the world.

III. The Theology of the Hymns

We find an interesting and instructive theology in these oldest of hymns of the Christian Church. It should be borne in mind that this theology came more than two centuries before the first creed of the Church was formulated. The reader must also remember that these hymns were written before some of the books of our New Testament were widely circulated in the Church at large. It should not be forgotten that this theology is the theology of a hymn-book and not a text on dogmatics. And I must again remind the reader that all I have to say about the theology of these hymns I owe to the published work of Harris and Mingana.

First of all, a few general remarks about these hymns. When they were first discovered some scholars thought them of Gnostic origin. But that charge has been completely overthrown by Harris and Mingana, and for the simple reason that Valentinus is not early enough. It is also certain that no one who reads these lovely hymns of the spirit could consider them as having been written by Cerinthus or Simon Magus. Our hymns are too ancient for the charge of Gnosticism. Another matter of importance is that they have nothing to do with the Western Church. They are the hymns of the Aramaic-speaking Church. The language and imagery is Semitic, which fact may account for some of their theology. Those who have given these hymns careful study are certain that their writer used the Hebrew Bible and not Greek. It would be more accurate to say that he used the Syriac Old Testament, which translation scholars think to have been made some time be-

fore these hymns were written. This fact is proved by a study of the texts quoted by the hymn-writer from the Old Testament. There is no God as the only begotten, Monogenes. In these hymns, Christ Himself is often the speaker proclaiming Himself as the only-begotten of the Father. There can be no doubt that our hymn-writer believed that Jesus Christ was miraculously born. The 41st Ode teaches that Christ was pre-existent. The hymn-writer also believed that Christ was pre-eminent and the Head of the Church. It is a surprise that he says so little about the Church. But it is evident that he considers himself a member of the body of Christ, and there is no doubt that he was a devoted and loyal member of that body.

We must now consider a side of the theology of these hymns which disturbs us. Our hymn-writer certainly knows the facts about the passion of our Lord. But his doctrine of atonement is not Pauline. In place of forgiveness he writes about the destruction of ignorance,—a good doctrine but hardly the Pauline doctrine of atonement with its sacrificial aspects of Christ's death. And yet this poet tells often of the passion of our Lord, especially when that story corresponds with the prophetic utterances about it, We find him just as un-Pauline about the resurrection of our Lord. The reader of this article must not misunderstand the last statement. Our hymn-writer clearly teaches everlasting life and the achieving of that life here on earth. But he presses this point so hard that the doctrine of last things becomes almost a zero. All readers of the Fourth Gospel know that everlasting life plays a large part in it. In this respect our hymns are more like that Gospel. It must be said, however, that the hymn-writer is not as clear-cut on the atonement and resurrection as he is on the person of Christ. There is one feature of the death of Christ which he insists upon. He has a clear and distinct doctrine of the descent into Hades, which he describes in a most graphic manner. It might be said that he makes a specialty of this doctrine.

The teachings of these hymns on the subject of the Holy Spirit is unorthodox. It must have been so from the very first, for we discover that Ephraem the Syrian corrected the hymns in this matter. One distinct feature of the teaching on the Holy Spirit

is the designation of Him as Mother. We find this designation in some early manuscripts of the Church which gave these hymns to the world. We find in these hymns a rich experience of the Christian life, and frequent quotations from the Wisdom books. The manner of the interpretation used in Targumistic, but the writer avoids as much as possible the anthropomorphism of the Targumist. The evidence that he quotes from the New Testament is not as clear as that for the Old Testament. But it must be said again that the thought and the language which he uses remind one of the Fourth Gospel. It should be mentioned here that these hymns, in their description of Christ, hover between Christ as Wisdom and as Logos.

Let us now see the faith expressed about Christ in the hymns, for that seems to be the writer's high-water mark of faith and devotion. The faith of the hymns is Christ-centered. Christ, for this hymn-writer, is the Wisdom of God, and thus his extensive quotation from the Wisdom literature. A trained theologian will recognize the use made by the Nicene Symbol or the eighth chapter of the book of Proverbs.

The Incarnation is an important part of the hymns and their theology. See, for example, the Seventh Ode: "Like my nature He became, that I might understand Him; And like my form, that I might not turn back from Him." This ode was often quoted by the early fathers. The hymn-writer also knew the prophets and quoted much from them, but his love for the Psalms comes first. The Second Psalm, always considered Messianic, is quoted often. And the fact of the frequent use of the Wisdom books, giving a nascent form of the Nicene Creek, should prove a rebuke to those who tell us that the Church for the first time was given a creed at the Nicene Council.

Another phase of our hymn-writer's faith in Christ is his doctrine of the Son of God praising the Lord for grace, light, salvation and peace; and many another such topic in which all Christian hearts rejoice.

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Any book noticed in these pages may be secured at publisher's price from The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Box 1176, Richmond, Va.

I. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR EL BAHRI: 1911-1931. *By H. E. Winlock.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 235 pages (and 96 plates of illustrations). $5.00. For many students of history the main stream of civilization has its springs in Egypt, and for these students the center of Egyptian life and culture is modern Luxor, built on the site of ancient Thebes. At Luxor the main site of interest is the west bank of the Nile with its tombs and temples. Among the latter the place of primacy is unquestionably owned by Deir el Bahri, the famous temple of Queen Hatshepsut, built about 1500 B. C. This primacy is grounded in at least three satisfactory reasons. First, rightly or wrongly, many Bible scholars identify the builder of this temple as the "daughter of Pharaoh" mentioned in Exodus as the rescuer and foster-mother of Moses. Second, many of the most fascinating chapters in Egyptology, such as the finding of the royal mummies in the nineteenth century, were localized in this immediate vicinity. Third, the temple itself, in terraces rising beautifully from the front of the dark desert hills, is by all odds the most attractive temple to the modern eye that ancient Egypt presents to the traveller.

For more than twenty years the author worked in and around this temple under the sponsorship of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This volume records the result of these labors. Unlike many archæologists, Mr. Winlock does not dwell on the individual markings of the leaves on a single tree so as to miss the sight of the forest. His book is in sufficient detail to hold the interest of a fellow-archæologist; but at the same time he translates these daily details so simply that the average reader can grasp the significance. In no other book that details the long period of excavation and examination are so admirably combined two great qualities—the impression of the bigness and the hardness of the task and the contagious enthusiasm of losing oneself in a worthy work. There are few places in Egypt where twenty years' labor would result in such results as Mr. Winlock has obtained at Deir el Bahri; there are few, if any, archæologists who could present their labors so attractively to readers as Mr. Winlock has done in this valuable volume. C. H. N.

PREACHING FROM THE PROPHETS. *By Kyle M. Yates.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 225 pages. $2.00. Dr. Yates is well qualified to write a book on the prophets of Israel and to point out the remarkable timeliness of their messages for this turbulent age. Having studied Semitic languages under Dr. John R. Sampey of Louisville, and having received a doctorate in this field from the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Yates became Professor of Old Testament Literature at the Southern Baptist Seminary at Louisville. For over twenty years he has held this position and is now recognized as one of the outstanding authorities in the field of Old Testament

study. Dr. Yates is serving as one of a committee of six to revise the American Revised Edition of the Old Testament. *Preaching from the Prophets* is an outgrowth of the author's twenty years of teaching and of his longer years of study in Old Testament literature. The eighteen prophets are presented as living, colorful, courageous, dynamic messengers of God. The historical background of each prophet is briefly reconstructed. The character of each prophet is portrayed in graphic language. Each prophet's message is analyzed and applied. At the conclusion of each chapter the preaching values of the prophet's life and ministry are pointed out and practical lessons of permanent value are summarized. The book abounds in striking quotations gleaned from a broad field. Some three dozen of the best authorities are quoted—Davidson, Smith, Driver, Kirkpatrick, Cornell, Farley, Cohn, Eisden, James, Sellin, Cadman, Harrel, Robinson and others. It is heartening to see that the teacher of Old Testament Literature at the soundly conservative Southern Baptist Seminary at Louisville applies the canons of historical and critical scholarship to the prophetic books. He boldly accepts the dual authorship of Isaiah and weighs with open-minded fairness the evidence for a like authorship of Micah and Zechariah, at the same time making it very clear that the integrity of the books as God's authentic revelation is in no sense impaired. This combination of Calvinistic honesty and loyalty to the Word of God is a quality greatly to be desired in Old Testament interpretation. If a young minister wishes to make a thorough study of the Prophets of Israel he might well begin with the purchase of this book and selections from among the excellent volumes suggested by Dr. Yates.

M. A. B.

THE PARABLES AND METAPHORS OF OUR LORD. *By G. Campbell Morgan.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 352 pages. $3.00. A reviewer writing for Protestant ministers does not have to engage in any critical appraisal of the type of work produced by Dr. Campbell Morgan. This great Bible expositor is widely known and the good quality of his work is generally recognized. This most recent study is in the best "Morgan manner." Indeed, this reviewer was struck by the fact that the style here seems less academic than usual and more vivid and alive. This is doubtless due to the fact that the book was produced from a stenographic report of a series of lectures printed without material alteration. The book presents a comprehensive study of all the parables and parabolic illustrations contained in the four Gospels and it should prove very helpful as a reference book for ministers and teachers.

J. B. C., Jr.

PERSONALITIES OF THE PASSION. *By Leslie D. Weatherhead.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 183 pages. $1.50. I remember a seminary professor who said in commending the sermon of a certain student, "There are three things required of a preacher if his sermon

is to be interesting. The first is imagination; the second, imagination, and the third, imagination."

Dr. Weatherhead unquestionably possesses these three qualifications. You may not always agree with his imagination, as, for instance, when he suggests that Simon Peter in the court of the high priest was acting the part of a spy and, therefore, cannot be blamed for what is commonly called his denial; or when he pleads that Judas did not intend to betray Christ but simply to put Him on the spot so that he would exert Himself and assert his Messiahship; or when he suggests that the companion of Cleopas on the Emmaus road was his wife.

But whether you agree or disagree with these and other suggestions and interpretations of Dr. Weatherhead, he will hold your interest in each sermon from beginning to end and, in addition, will leave you inspired and helped by his practical application of truth. What words, for example, could better express for us the practical significance of the Resurrection than the following? "The story ends in that Upper Room, the first Christian church in the world, with that same Presence seen, unseen, here, there, until for them all he was everywhere . . . Somehow they knew that now he would be seen but seldom. But beyond the need of sight they knew him near—near in the peace that possessed them, and the power that fell upon them, and the joy that thrilled them through and through. The whole earth for them was full of his glory and his ascension only meant that he went from some men's sight to be available to all men's hearts, every man's Guest and Friend, all the days, even unto the end of the world . . . You cannot make a better contribution to the new age than to begin there, to bow in surrender at His feet, to offer to Him the rest of your days, to follow Him in daily obedience. Christ will forgive you. Christ will cleanse you. Christ will understand you. Christ will believe in you. Christ will use you. Christ will empower you. Christ will comfort you. Christ will guide you. And when it is evening and day is far spent, then, at this end of the last, dark valley, Christ will receive you, and abide with you forever." J. C. R.

SERMONS FROM REVELATION. *By Clovis G. Chappell.* The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 215 pages. $1.50. The title is accurate. These are sermons drawn from texts and passages in the last book of the New Testament. Only one sermon, the first, deals with the style and purpose of the book as a whole. Twelve of the sixteen expositions are devoted to the first three chapters of Revelation, and the other four treat isolated texts (11:18; 12:11; 19:6 and 22:20). Hence let no one purchase this book as an aid in preaching on the Apocalypse of John. A. H. Baldinger, Daniel Russell and C. H. Allen have wrestled far more fruitfully with its symbols and its cycles.

With this warning, your reviewer recommends the purchase of the book

for what it is. The sermons are in the best Chappell style—clear, practical and abundantly illustrated. Presbyterians will be especially interested in a sermon on the Sovereignty of God and another on the Second Coming of Christ. D. M. C.

II. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

How Did the World Begin? *By George McCready Price.*. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 94 pages. $1.00. It has been over twenty years since this author first appeared in print as a defender of the faith. Some will recall his book, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution,* and will remember that at the time he created a sensation in some circles. Other books have come out in more recent years, but the author has not been heard from much of late until this book appears. Ostensibly, it has a fine purpose and there are certain statements in it with which one can most heartily agree without any argument. For example: "The call of the hour to the Church of Christ is for renewed confidence in the Guidebook that she has brought with her down the centuries, and for an equal confidence that the true understanding of nature must lead to a better understanding of the Creator." Truly spoken as a friend of the faith but, as is so often true, the "friends" of the Bible turn out to be enemies in their final result, though I am sure Dr. Price would most heartily disagree with this reviewer, in that judgment, in so far as he is concerned. The trouble with the book is that a reader who has had any scientific training at all will find that Dr. Price's "true understanding of nature" does not seem to be true at all! The margins will have too many question marks and not a few exclamation marks.

The theme of the book might be stated in the author's words as follows: "This fact of a completed creation, or a creation that is not now going on, is one of the most important principles on which religion is founded . . . ." His position can be stated in his own words: "The Christian religion teaches through its Guidebook that at a certain time in the past, not very many thousands of years ago, God created various kinds of animals and plants in six literal days, and thereafter these specific kinds of plants and animals, including man, have gone on reproducing themselves in regular and orderly way, each maintaining its stability and reproducing only 'after its kind.' "

Naturally you would expect this author to re-hash all his previous arguments and all the familiar ones against Evolution or "Uniformism," as he would have us call it. He does not tilt his lance at Darwinism, with which he might have had much more success. He finds that the greatest argument against Evolution is based on the findings of geology. The crux of the argument centers around the Flood. "No one can believe in the evolution theory and in the record of the Flood; the two are mutually contra-

dictory and mutually exclusive. They cannot be entertained by the same mind at the same time." The reviewer will admit that is true if Dr. Price is correct in his ingenious theories or "proofs" of the universal nature of the Flood. It would be interesting to hear some really Christian geologist (I know a few, Dr. Price notwithstanding!) comment on some of the author's geological "facts." But Dr. Price would have the whole argument stand or fall with his evidence. "Let all friends of the Bible now realize that the real issue is over the record of the Flood."

You even find "Evolution Foretold," for did not Peter say, "There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of creation." If you believe in Evolution and if you do not follow the author's treatment of the Flood, you are simply proving that the Second Coming of our Lord is very imminent!

There is a statement in an earlier chapter with which this reviewer finds himself is almost complete agreement: "The reader may think that we have wandered somewhat from the point at which we started in this chapter." Not just "this chapter"! J. A.

A World of Energy, or Rethinking the Christian Religion. *By James J. Reeve,* Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston. 337 pages. $3.00. This book is "dedicated to all who want a scientific approach to their faith in Christ," That should make it suspect from the first! The author is a "doctor of theology and professor of Biblical Interpretation at Union Theological College and at Southwestern Theological Seminary," and according to him "this book is the result of over twenty years of thinking, reading and re-thinking the problems of Christian life and thought." Writing from Wheaton, Illinois, one would expect him to claim to be orthodox of the orthodox. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to read that while "the author is well aware of the difference between the modern or more liberal views, and the more orthodox view of Christianity," and that "after first reading and studying under the most orthodox teachers, and then the more liberal, modern, and scientific scholars, he was forced by the logic of reason, observation, and experience to abandon the earlier ideas," i. e., the more orthodox! But after reading the book, you suspect the author wants you to feel this is the liberal, scientific approach and that you won't know that after all it is mostly balderdash: "The book holds to the coordination of reason and faith; and the two working cooperatively and harmoniously," ... without the good old-fashioned ideas which "have had their day and ceased to be."

The author is most ambitious in his purpose for the book. Among other things he proposes "to give a sound working basis for good living; to give information as well as understanding; to give an impulse to the mind as well

as the spirit; to describe the relations between God and man . . . to show how man should live . . . to prove that life is not the drab, hopeless, and disappointing thing it is said to be, but to show how our will and reason and feelings may be coordinated." Too ambitious! But not too scientific!

His thesis and theme, if he has one, is that energy is everything and all life can be explained by force. The titles of the chapters will give some indication of the plan of the book and the thesis of it: "The Universe is Made up of Energies (*sic*) in Relation"; "The Body of Man is a Combination of Energies"; "The Motives of Men are Forces at Work in Them"; "Energy (not "energies" now for some reason!) Has Produced the Æsthetic Life of Man"; "Energies in Conflict Have Made History"; "Energy as the Basic Principle of Life and Immortality"; "The Eschatology of Energy is the Kingdom of God." These are but a few of the titles with which the author explains everything by "energy" and "energies." If Dr. Reeve were writing this review after writing the titles of several chapters, he would add "et cetera." He uses that word more than a dozen times in each of several chapters!

The book is wordy to an extreme, boring, and, no matter how high and sincere of purpose, it is of little value for an ordinary reader or even a student of Christian thought. Let it be said in all fairness to the author that his closing words keep us from being more condemnatory toward the book. "No one is more conscious than the writer of the imperfections of the work, and he can only hope that it may be of some help to some one."

J. A.

PERSONAL RELIGION. *By Douglas Clyde Macintosh.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. xvi and 411 pages. $3.00. By any standard, this is a major book. Few, if any, books on religion issued this winter will be of as much permanent value. For the distinguished Dwight Professor of Theology and Philosophy of Religion in Yale University has written in a clear, simple, heart-warming style a great book on personal religion, the second in a projected series of three books on Religion Today and Tomorrow, of which *Social Religion* was the first. The basic thesis of the book is: A better world can be had only as individuals take to heart and express in life the principles of personal religion, and "by dedicated, wise and untiring propagation of personal religion by individuals and groups of individuals who know to some extent from experience how revolutionary, beneficent, and dynamic such personal religion can ultimately be."

Part I deals with "The Principles of Personal Religion." The first chapter, entitled "Old-Time Religion," devotes one hundred pages to the description of the vital personal religion of an English family of the early nineteenth century. This is used as a background for contrast with our present-day lukewarmness and lack of vital religious experience. Chapter

two, "Modern Evangelicalism," is only forty pages long, but is a brilliant effort to make meaningful to modern men the old evangelical doctrines of sin, Christ, redemption, conversion, the Christian life. This reviewer had more questions on the margins of these pages than in the rest of the book put together, but it is exceedingly stimulating material and should prove helpful to all ministers who are seriously trying to interpret the gospel to modern men. Chapter three, "Realism in Prayer," is short but very helpful.

Part II is entitled "The Propagation of Personal Religion." The chapter on "Missions and Modernity" challenges the Church to rethink and revitalize the missions movement on the basis of an up-to-date evangelicalism (not on the basis of the wistful idealism of the "Rethinking Missions" report). This reviewer cannot follow Dr. Macintosh in his willingness to offer, if necessary, Christianity without a Christology to those prejudiced against the doctrine. The chapter on "The True Church and Ecumenicism" takes issue with C. C. Morrison's idea of the Church, reminds us that unity is more important than union and displays a typical congregationalist attitude towards the doctrine of the Church and of infant baptism. The chapter on "Personal Evangelism and Religious Education" ought to be required reading for all workers in the latter field, for Dr. Macintosh is essentially correct in calling religious education back to a more profoundly Biblical and evangelical standpoint and in insisting on the necessity of an act of commitment on the part of the child who has grown up in a Christian home, though the author is wrong in thinking Bushnell was too näive in believing that children who grow up in Christian homes usually think of themselves as Christians all along. Many of them rightly do in 1943. The final chapter on "Evangelism Today and Tomorrow" will be exceedingly valuable to all who are concerned about student religion or about the evangelical approach to modern men. This reviewer cannot follow Dr. Macintosh in his belief that the Oxford Group Movement "in its main features and emphasis, even if not in every detail, perhaps, . . . has come close to being the needed personal evangelism for our times" (p. 395).

This is a rich, meaty book that will improve one's sermons and deepen one's evangelistic zeal and stir one to real thought about and experience of personal religion. Buy it and use it! H. G. G.

LIBERAL THEOLOGY: AN APPRAISAL. *Edited by David E. Roberts and Henry Pitney Van Dusen.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 285 pages. $2.50. If you desire an insight into the meaning, history and contemporary mood of liberalism, this brief and authoritative symposium by a group of American liberals is the book to read. Perhaps we should have said categorically that here is a book you *must* read. For whether you view liberalism through the eyes of friend or foe, you surely wish to keep abreast of a movement so vastly influential in Protestant theology, and the bird's-eye view presented in these pages has no duplicate.

To read this volume is to discover, on the one hand, that "liberalism is no candidate for an epitaph," despite the prophets whose misinformed or perhaps wishful thinking has led them to predict its early demise. On the other hand, it is equally evident that here is a liberalism which has been refined in the fires of adversity. The blows to social optimism administered by this generation, with its two world wars, the searching criticism of the dialectic theologians, not to speak of the inevitable mellowing of age, have conspired to produce in these present leaders of liberal thought a tempered, irenic and constructive spirit. These writers are much more ready to recognize the truth in conservative theology, notably its emphasis upon the sin and limitations of man, which touches the sensitive nerve of liberalism, than were their predecessors fifty years ago.

This book is a collection of sixteen essays in honor of Eugene William Lyman and opens appropriately with a chapter on Lyman's theology by W. M. Horton. There follows a group of essays on the history of liberal theology and then a group dealing with its foundations. Among the contributors are John C. Bennett, William Adams Brown, Henry Sloane Coffin, William Ernest Hocking, Rufus M. Jones, Douglas C. Macintosh and A. C. McGiffert, Jr. Each author writes in a field of which he is a master, with the result that this collective appraisal of liberal theology may well lay claim to being definitive. J. N. T.

IN COMMEMORATION OF WILLIAM JAMES: 1842-1942. By numerous contributors. Columbia University Press, New York. 239 pages. $2.75. This book commemorates the centenary of the birth of William James, born in New York City January 11, 1842. The volume is the joint product of many pens, and the current of philosophy flows in full spate through these pages. Every lover of philosophy will find here much to delight and to excite him. In literary form the book follows the pattern of the four Gospels, where each writer tells what he perceived in Jesus; and while in broad outline the four portraits have a similarity, yet each artist caught certain features that escaped the notice of the others. In the book before me we have the record of what sixteen different students of James see in or read into his philosophy. Here, too, it is interesting that each was attracted by some characteristic glossed over by the others. To one, James is a metaphysician, to another, a psychologist, to still another, a moralist, and to one writer, James is preeminently the philosopher of faith.

This singularity is very marked. One contributor is most impressed by the moral seriousness of the man. As he interprets James, philosophy was never an end but always a means. James did not take up philosophy as a pastime. He was driven from science to philosophy because there were practical problems of intimate experience that science could not solve. To another writer, on the contrary, philosophy as such is all he sees interesting in the Harvard professor. They all, as is natural, evaluate his

thinking in terms of their own problems and accept or reject his conclusions as he speaks their vernacular or not. There is only one contributor who, it seems to me, has distilled the essence of the philosophy and the character of the man, and he is a Jew, scion of an illustrious line of rabbis. At his hands James' pragmatism becomes a philosophy that even conservates might tolerate if not embrace. This man was selected by James as his literary executor, and when one reads his contribution one can understand why he was chosen.

Besides the variety of perceptual impressions, there is also in these pages an equally striking variety of literary style. Some of the contributors have approximated the matchless skill of the master, and the sheer periods of their compositions stimulate esthetic responses, while others translate, or, perhaps, better to say, transmute, the gold of James' sentences into leaden lines that make unwarranted demands upon one's patience. Fortunately, there are few of the latter.

The organization of this book is into four Parts: I. Papers presented at the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and the Sciences; II. Papers read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association; III. Papers read at the Western Division, and IV. Papers from other occasions. It would have added interest had the editors given a brief biography of each contributor. F. H.

THE TIME STREAM. *By Edgar Laing Heermance.* Free Press Association, Burlington, Vt. 205 pages. $2.00. Edgar Laing Heermance, a grandson of Timothy Dwight, after serving as a minister on the frontier in Minnesota, returned to Connecticut to study and write. At sixty-five, "still looking forward and fascinated by the problems that confront us," he sits down to share in an intimate way the results of his long search for a satisfying Life View. Guided by the recognition in modern Physics of matter as "flashes of pulsating synthetic Energy" and by the evolutionary theory which sees man as the climax and crown of an age-long process, he defines God as "the active Universe with which we are in contact and what lies behind it." The best symbol of this surrounding God is Jesus Christ, in whom personality reached its fullest and highest development. It is the business of the human race to discover the principles and laws by which God invariably operates and to cooperate with Him in the making of men. "The great outstanding fact is that underneath our human brutalities and makeshifts and mistakes is the Rule of a dependable and beneficent God. When men work with Him rather than against Him they have the Universe on their side." Perhaps the author passes over too lightly the problem of evil and sees too little in the Cross, but your reviewer closed the book with a prayer that at sixty-five he might partake of the charity, tolerance and optimism which characterize this unusual volume.

D. M. C.

III. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

ARISTOTLE AND ANGLICAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. *By Victor Lyle Dowdell.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y. 103 pages $1.50. This is a technical study that will appeal only to the specialist. The author endeavors "to examine the body of Anglican divinity, to see the touch of Aristotle and to exhibit the signs of his influence in representative thinkers of the Church of England." His detailed study indicates that the guidance of Aristotle has been very marked. The influence of Plato has been emphasized in the past; and it is no doubt a gain that Aristotle has now begun to receive his due. E. T. T.

THE ENGLISH YEOMAN UNDER ELIZABETH AND THE EARLY STUARTS. *By Mildred Campbell,* Associate Professor in History in Vassar College. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 453 pages. $3.75. This is a worthy piece of work and I read it with pleasure. It is well bound, well printed and well documented. It certainly gives an intimate picture of England in the times surrounding our Westminster Assembly of 1643. The author spent some most interesting days digging into the dusty archives of little English towns as well as other days in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office "until that late August afternoon when by order of His Majesty's Government readers in the Round Room were informed that the doors would not open the next morning." The rest of that paragraph in the preface is of interest: "For several days past we had seen great paper-bound bundles being let down from upper-story windows to waiting lorries below, and knew their ominous meaning when a request for Subsidy Rolls and the State Papers brought this response from the attendant, attempting to hide his feelings in a show of gaiety: 'Sorry, Miss, they're on 'oliday in the country.' A few days later World War II was upon us." My only adverse criticism of the book is probably an evidence of my own limitations. At times I actually found myself lost in the multiplicity of details. I couldn't always see the forest for the trees. Regardless of that I say again that here is a worthy picture of a tremendous day for those who think the thoughts of Milton and speak the tongue of Shakespeare. D. P. M.

MILTON AND THE PURITAN DILEMMA. *By Arthur Barker.* The University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada. 440 pages. $3.75. This admirable piece of work by a Professor of English in the Trinity College in the University of Toronto is well worth any man's reading. Of course, it undertakes the impossible, (it might just as well undertake the reconciliation of predestination with free-will), but it undertakes that impossible with enthusiasm and, in spite of the fact that we must lay down the volume with-

out a solution of the problem faced, we come away from our reading wiser and most of all better able to understand one of the great men of all time.

Milton's dilemma (the dilemma of all Puritans) is "the problem of the relationship between the reformation of the Church and the establishment of liberty." Or again, "How can the ideal integration of nature and spirit be translated into action without sacrificing the proper glories of either of its elements to the demands of the other?" Those are just scholarly ways of saying that Milton faced the problem of toleration in a fallen world. In another connection I hope to discuss this as fully as I possibly can. Milton's problem is our problem. The blundering answer given to the dilemma in Milton's day is given by thousands of good people in 1943. Three hundred years have taught the world very little, it seems. Freedom of speech is not yet universal in spite of the *Areopagitica*. Liberty is not the same as license. At the same time, censorship is first cousin to tyranny.

Milton started out a Presbyterian,—maybe not technically. He ended his course on the outside of all Churches. My theory has been for a long time that Milton turned from his Presbyterian teacher (perhaps unconsciously influenced) because of Presbyterian opposition to divorce. There is no chance for discussion here, but I can at least say that Dr. Barker leaves me still holding to my guess that Milton died outside the Presbyterian Church because Presbyterians did not welcome the idea of easy divorce. Just let me say again that here is a scholarly and an interesting book. It is well worth the price and I trust that many of our men will buy it,—remembering that this is 1943 and that Milton wrote in 1643 while our Westminster Divines were facing just what Milton faced and just what is discussed in these 400 pages. D. P. M.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE BRETHREN MOVEMENT. *By H. A. Ironside.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 219 pages. $2.00. This book will be of interest to many in our Church since it gives something of the background out of which many of the attitudes and emphases of the Dispensational group have come. Dr. Ironside descended from Brethren stock, and, writing with sympathy and judgment, has given a splendid sketch of the movement. He has included many long extracts from contemporary letters and documents which enable the reader to have first-hand information about the persons and events. The Brethren movement began about 1830, when in many places there was a reaction against rigid denominationalism with its emphasis on organization and creed. Many desired to find a fellowship on a simple Christian basis, and they took the Bible as their guide and gave it constant study. J. N. Darby and others formed such a group in Dublin, Ireland. Partly independent of the Dublin group, partly through their efforts, other groups were formed in which Christians rejoiced in fellowship outside of denominational lines and gave

themselves to Bible study. The primary emphasis was on the Church as composed of all true Christians who were the "Body of Christ." There was a rejection of "sects" and a "one man" ministry. Christians met as equals for mutual edification and for the Breaking of Bread. About this same time many of these same Bible students became interested in Prophecy, frequently meetings were held at the castle of Lady Powerscourt, and it was in these meetings that "the precious truth of the rapture of the Church was brought to light." The remainder of the history of the Brethren is of repeated divisions, group after group being cut off from the "Body of Christ" and continuing as a rival Brethren group. It is a sad story. The first split grew out of differences in view of Darby and B. W. Newton, the leader of the Plymouth group. This difference at first seemed to center largely around Newton's rejection of Darby's Dispensational views (see pages 32-33). Unfortunately, Newton, before the matter was settled, developed some questionable views about Christ. Under the leadership of Darby a split was made and Newton and his followers were declared to be outside the fellowship. "Separation from evil, God's principle of Unity" became a watchword. The Brethren doctrine of the "Body of Christ" led to this corollary, that the whole Body of Christ acted through any local group, so that if one group found a heresy and expelled it the action was binding on the Brethren everywhere. The second division was over this corollary. The Bethesda group in the months that followed received into their fellowship some members of Newton's group whom they examined and found to be free of Newton's "heresy." Darby's group and those under his leadership promptly excommunicated the Bethesda group for acting against the "Body of Christ." The Bethesda group insisted on the right of the local group in deciding who were fit for fellowship, and they became the founders of the "Open" Brethren. Darby's groups were called the "Exclusive" wing, and this breach has never been healed. The exclusive wing, with such principles, became the narrowest and most intolerant of all sects and were divided repeatedly as the decades went by, as hereby hunters were busy and a single group could speak for "the Body of Christ." It is a sad story of the transformation of those who had started out to find fellowship on a simple Christian basis and ended in becoming the most narrow of sects (if you know which of the many varieties existing today is the true "Body of Christ"). The Open brethren, emphasizing congregational independence, naturally have not split but have become increasing denominationally minded. This group, Bible-loving, jealous for God and His truth, and Bible expounding, has had a deep influence on many evangelical Christians who never dreamed of becoming "Brethren." Nowhere do we see it more than in those who accept Dispensational teaching. Dr. Ironside does not point this out, but it would seem that this Brethren influence can be seen in: intense Bible study, and interest in Prophecy and a zeal for expounding the Bible; the rejection of denominational lines, for a meeting of

'Bible-believing" groups which are independent and congregational if they have any organization; and an emphasis on the necessity of "separation" from all that the group labels as "evil" coupled with a tendency to question the sincerity or loyalty to Christ of all who do not see or practice the "truth" as the "Bible students" understand it. This heritage has both good and evil in it. The exclusive Brethren are a sad illustration of the result of emphasizing the evil elements of this heritage. J. E. B.

THE GREAT CENTURY (1800-1914). *By Kenneth Scott Latourette.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 470 pages. $4.00. This is Volume V of Dr. Latourette's incomparable work, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity.* It continues the survey, begun in Volume IV, of the greatest period of Christian missionary expansion and is an indispensable source-book for information concerning the progress of the missionary enterprise in the Americas, Australasia and Africa south of the Sahara. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that the author gives a history of both Roman Catholic and Protestant work and also includes the work of the Church among both Negroes and whites in South Africa. D. W. R.

A SHORT LIFE OF KIERKEGAARD. *By Walter Lowrie.* The Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 271 pages. $2.75. At the beginning of his effort "to put Kierkegaard into English" Walter Lowrie wrote a Life of Kierkegaard. At the time there was practically nothing from Kierkegaard which was translated into English. The first Life of Kierkegaard was, therefore, a very extensive work which abounded in long quotations. Since the publication of this book, all of Kierkegaard's major works have been translated into English. Dr. Lowrie has been the moving spirit behind this monumental work of translation and through it he has put the English-speaking world permanently in his debt.

The revived interest in Kierkegaard is one of the characteristics of theological thought in America today. In fact, a leading article in the March issue of *Fortune* makes the statement that the Protestant churches are turning today for the foundations of their theological thought to Kierkegaard and to Augustine. This increasing appreciation of the significance of Kierkegaard for Protestant thought has created a demand for a shorter and more popular life of Kierkegaard. Dr. Lowrie's *A Short Life of Kierkegaard* admirably supplies this demand. It is not a condensation of his earlier work. Instead, it is rewritten in its entirety. It comes at the end of a period in which Dr. Lowrie has given the major interest of his life to the study and translation of Kierkegaard. It is popularly written without the sacrifice of accuracy of scholarship. The book as a whole is a sympathetic and powerful study of a man who is destined to be a major influence in the moulding of Protestant thought and as such it commends itself to all those who wish to begin to know Kierkegaard. H. R.

SIR WILFRED GRENFELL. *By Genevieve Fox.* With illustrations by Mary Reardon. Thomas T. Crowell Company, New York. 207 pages. $2.50. This is a satisfying life, an inspiring life, of one of the most notable and one of the most honored practitioners of Christianity in recent times. Miss Fox has specialized in recent years in books for the teen agers. This is a book which the older young people will devour as thrilling biography, and adults will find it equally enjoyable. Wilfred Grenfell moves before us as a man in love with life, fond of sport, fond of the sea, devoted to the welfare of men, a living embodiment of the most attractive and of the most heroic Christian virtues. The book doesn't moralize or preach. There is no need for that. Simply to read the story of Sir Wilfred Grenfell is a blessing and a tonic. Read this book yourself and pass it on to your young people.

E. T. T.

DR. RUDOLPH BOLLING TEUSLER. *By Howard Chandler Robbins and George K. MacKnaught.* Charles Scribners' Sons, New York. 209 pages. $2.00. This book carries the sub-title of "An Adventure in Christianity." It is the inspiring story of the life and work of one of the great medical missionaries of our generation, founder of the world-known St. Luke's International Medical Center in Tokyo, which was established "to the glory of God and the service of humanity." Dr. Teusler gave up a growing practice in the city of Richmond and a professorship in the Medical College of Virginia, went to Japan as a missionary of the American Episcopal Church in 1899 and gave his life wholly to the building up of one of the most complete medical centers in the whole world. He was the pioneer in the training of efficient nurses and in public health work in Japan. More than two million dollars were raised in America and substantial sums were contributed by friends in Japan and by the Japanese government for the completion of Dr. Teusler's far-seeing plans. The Tokyo Medical Center is today a continuing monument of Christian good-will. The life portrayed in this book is thrilling and inspiring. The builder of St. Luke's was a great humanitarian and a great Christian.

D. W. R.

THERE IS A RIVER, The Story of Edgar Cayce. *By Thomas Sugrue.* Henry Holt and Company, New York. 453 pages. $3.00. The author of this biographical story of Edgar Cayce has turned out a compelling word-portrait of a most interesting character. The publishers have printed the story in a most attractive, wide-margin, readable type book that makes it a joy to read. The subject of this portrait, Edgar Cayce, now sixty-six years old and living at Virginia Beach, Virginia, is a psychic reader and head of the Association for Research and Enlightment, Inc., a devout member of the Christian Church, a close student of the Bible, which is his daily guide, and long a successful Sunday School teacher. While he was still a boy he discovered himself possessed of a clairvoyance which appeared to have the

power to help heal others, even the members of his own family and himself. He fought against this power, which flowed through him while asleep and revealed human illnesses and medical terms that surprised him and amazed the medical profession. This book is a factual record,—not a fanciful guess,—of the man, some of the case stories and results of the psychic readings, together with names, dates, transcripts and documented evidences. Aside from the mystic and psychic element, the book is worth reading because of the human-interest story of a truly amazing man. Thomas Sugrue, the author, is a well-known writer of articles for various magazines, author of *Such Is the Kingdom* and book-reviewer for *The New York Herald Tribune*. He was roommate at Washington and Lee of Edgar Cayce's son, has known the subject of his pen-portrait for fifteen years and attributes to Edgar Cayce's psychic readings his own recovery from an unknown disease which struck him down and left him helpless and paralyzed some years ago. R. C. L.

THE PATH TO RECONSTRUCTION. *By Mrs. Charles E. B. Russell.* Henry Holt and Company, New York. 68 pages. $1.50. This "Brief Introduction to Albert Schweitzer's Philosophy of Civilization" is a volume that will be welcomed by many readers. Mrs. Russell lays no claim to authority in the field of philosophic thought but having worked with Dr. Schweitzer for many years in the Forest Hospital at Lambarene and having observed his philosophy of reverence for life in actual operation, she has, at the request of friends, undertaken the task of "introducing" this remarkable man and his philosophy of world reconstruction. The task has been well performed and a service of great importance has been rendered. There are only three chapters in the book but they give an admirable summary of Dr. Schweitzer's life and writings and trace with remarkable clearness the main outlines of his vigorous and constructive thought. Since the publication of *The Quest for the Historical Jesus* and the monumental life of J. S. Bach, Dr. Schweitzer has been recognized as a star of the first magnitude. His *Philosophy of Civilization* in four volumes (the fourth still unpublished) will doubtless stand as one of the great contributions to thought in our time. His additional writings on the Apostle Paul, on Christian Mysticism, on the Religions of the World and on Medical Missions in Central Africa show the depth and range of his remarkable mind. One of the most valuable features of Mrs. Russell's volume is a bibliography listing the many books and articles by and about Dr. Schweitzer. Many will hesitate to accept certain features of Dr. Schweitzer's philosophy and Biblical interpretation but all will agree that he is one of the greatest Christians and one of the most remarkable men of the modern age. M. A. B.

IT'S YOUR SOULS WE WANT. *By Steward W. Herman, Jr.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 315 pages. $2.50. The minister of the American

Church at Berlin 1936-1942, now touring Great Britain under the auspices of the British Council of Churches, has given us a graphic and well documented account of the Nazi effort to destroy the Church and to replace all its rites and ceremonies with comparable Nazi rites and ceremonies. This book should be read by every leader of Christendom. It will help to give a clearer comprehension of the spiritual problem facing Germany now and the United Nations in the post-war period—a problem which must be met squarely if there is to be a just and durable peace. T. J. R.

THE HISTORIC CHURCH AND MODERN PACIFISM. *By Umphrey Lee.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 249 pages. $2.00. Much that has been written about the Church and its relation to war—especially in the early centuries—has been disguised propaganda. Dr. Lee also has a case to make. He is determined to prove that Jesus was not a pacifist and at times seems to force his evidence. Nonetheless he is a capable historical scholar, and his remaining chapters enable us to enter sympathetically and understandingly into the best thought of the Church not only on the questions of war and peace but also on the question of the Christian's relationship to the world. The two questions are closely intertwined. Pacifists throughout the history of the Church have been inclined to interpret literally other teachings of Jesus which necessitate a withdrawal from the world. Modern pacifism, which stems from the "social gospel," is a new type of pacifism such as the Church has not hitherto known.

The representative thinkers of the Church in all ages have opposed war and have been "oppressed by the spectacle of a warring world." "Yet they saw no escape from the burden of society: the judge and the soldier alike must do his part, even if, in Augustine's words, he prayed to be delivered from his necessities."

This book is highly recommended to pacifists and to non-pacifists and to all who are interested in the question of Christianity and its relation to war. E. T. T.

REPORT FROM TOKYO: A Message to the American People. *By Joseph C. Grew,* U. S. Ambassador to Japan, 1932 to 1941. Simon and Schuster, New York. $1.50; paper, $1.00. Here is a book that all intelligent Americans should ponder. It is written by a high-toned Christian gentleman. He writes out of an experience of ten years' residence in Japan as our Ambassador. He knows the Japanese. He knows their ambitions, their psychology, and their methods.

As one who lived in the Orient for fifteen years and visited Japan many times, I should like to record my general agreement with the statements and conclusions of this book. At the Embassy in Tokyo in March, 1939, it was my privilege to have a conference with this gracious and worthy representative of our Nation at a most difficult and trying post. Our Nation has been fortunate in being so worthily represented.

As Mr. Grew reminds us, we cannot exterminte the Japanese people. We would not want to. But we must utterly defeat them. To agree to an armistice, to compromise with such a national fraud and monster as is predatory Fascist Japan, would be but the passing on to our children of an impossible burden which it is ours now to bear.

Here are two outstanding sentences in the book: "We can challenge Japan at a vulnerable point by showing contempt for doctrines and practices of racial conflict, by loyal cooperation with our allies in Asia, and by recognizing the human worth of peoples of other than the majority race within our own territories. Japan has prepared for this war for years; Providence has equipped us for the winning of it for centuries."

H. K. T.

ITALY FROM WITHIN. *By Richard G. Massock.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 400 pages. $3.00. This book gives the most informative experiences of Richard G. Massock, Chief of the Rome Bureau of the Associated Press from 1938 until Italy's declaration of war on the United States, December 11, 1941. Mr. Massock is as good a reporter as you would expect the Associated Press to have in one of its most important world centers. He sees with a discerning eye things that are pertinent and he writes them with a clearness and a vividness that make them stick in memory and impress with their significance. The volume lacks a great deal; in fact, it lacks everything of being an appreciation of the Fascist regime and its perpetrators; but Mr. Massock is much calmer and more objective than many recent writers have been in their descriptions of the tragic route along which Mussolini took the people of Italy. Most forcible is his description of that course. The author sees up to the minute of his being evacuated from Italy that there is no evidence whatever of any enmity from the Italian people towards the United States and its citizens, and coupled with this is the growing distrust and hatred between the Italians and the Germans who run roughshod over the Italian peninsula. While these two facts encourage the student of international affairs, the author is careful to warn that nothing definite may be guaranteed thereby, because, first, the country is so well occupied by German troops and secret agents that a revolt will be hardly possible under present conditions, and, second, there is no personality around which the dissatisfied elements can rally. Mr. Massock sets the Italian situation well within the framework of the adjoining nations and presents a complete situation. C. H. N.

IV. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

WHAT IS THE CHURCH DOING? *By H. P. Van Dusen.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 179 pages. $1.00. The title is the reproduction of the question which many are asking today,—some cynically, some wistfully,

anxiously. In this very brief volume Dr. Van Dusen answers the question clearly and succinctly, but by no means exhaustively. It is not the author's purpose to give an exhaustive treatment. He takes "the churches in captivity" in Continental countries and in the midst of unspeakable persecution and suffering and shows their daring and effective spirit of resistance, revival and unconquerable resolution. Passing to the younger churches, most of them "orphaned churches," Dr. Van Dusen gives a vivid and compelling picture of their heroic response to the present emergencies, their courage and their competence when cut adrift from their former sources of support and guidance. Finally, the author surveys "the World Church" and the development of the ecumenical movement within Christendom during the last few decades. Within the compass of a few pages he sketches in brief outline one great ground of Christian hope for the future of the Church in the post-war world. The Church is still the only source of the world's light, and around the world she still bears witness to Him who is the Light of the World's life. A good book to read in these days when so many are discouraged. D. W. R.

FINDING YOUR WAY IN LIFE. *Edited by Sidney A. Weston.* Association Press, New York. 134 pages. $1.50. The editor himself has given us a concise summary of the purpose of this book: "How can a young person meet the world today, find his place in it, overcome his personal and social handicaps, develop his few or many talents, discover latent resources he never knew he had—in short, make the most of what he is and has, and enjoy the satisfaction of being somebody worth while in the home and the community? This book tries to answer these questions for you. Within its pages you will find the experience and counsel of some of America's leaders." The subjects treated and the authors represented will alone suggest that something of value is to be found here: "The Kind of a World We Want to Live In," by T. Otto Nall; "Developing Your Personality," by Eleanor Roosevelt; "The Education You Need," by Goodwin Watson; "Keeping Up with Yourself in Books," by Dorothy Canfield Fisher; "Green Light for Recreation," by Susan M. Lee; "Making and Keeping Friends," by Margaret Slattery; "The Value of Good Manners," by Emily Post; "The World of Work," by Lyle M. Spencer and Robert K. Burns; "Choosing a Vocation," by Harry D. Kitson; "How to Get a Job," by Glenn Gardiner; "The Value of Character," by Sidney A. Weston; "Developing Leadership Power," by Ordway Tead. Frankly, this reviewer at first questioned why the review of such a book should find a place in a religious journal. An examination of the contents proved that the book would be a helpful gift for any young person. It is spiritual without being "preachery." It presents a wholesome slant on life which is decidedly Christian, without being always called so in so many words. J. B. C., Jr.

MAN AND SOCIETY IN CALAMITY. *By Pitirim A. Sorokin.* E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. 352 pages. $3.00. In a time of calamity the mind is open to a consideration of the cause and meaning of the events. It is good, therefore, to have a man with a perspective and balance to give a study of the major calamities which have afflicted our world. Professor Sorokin, a Doctor of Sociology of Harvard University, has produced a great book of value for anyone who wants to take hold of some thread of thought which will help lead to an enlightened view of our tribulation. The writer lays down his thesis that both good and bad have come from calamities, and then gives proof from ancient as well as modern times. Throughout his study he demonstrates the working of the law of polarization. It is a book which presents many questions of debate such as revolve around the problems of man's suffering and struggle against difficulties. Such questionings are good for us. Better still is it to have a comprehensive understanding of the catastrophes of the ages so that we shall not be deceived into thinking that the end of all things is at hand. Christians will find this book bringing intellectual reasons as strength for the invincible surmises of the heart. "Given the values of the Kingdom of God, the worldly problems of food and drink can be solved in passing. Then great calamities become unnecessary and meaningless in human history. But without the Kingdom of God we are doomed to a weary and torturing pilgrimage from calamity to calamity, from crisis to crisis, with only brief moments of transitory improvement for regaining our breath." J. W. J.

WHICH WAY AHEAD? The Presiding Bishop's Book for Lent. *By Walter Russell Bowie.* Harper and Brothers, New York. xi and 145 pages. $1.50 a copy, or $1.25 when ten or more are purchased. Many lots of ten should be purchased and read! Dr. Bowie was chosen by Bishop Tucker to write the 1943 Lenten book. It was a good choice, for the book comes to grips realistically with the problems which must be faced and solved in the spirit of Christ. Its theme is the Church and its task in the midst of the present upheaval. The author's conviction is, "The Church is an anvil which has outworn many hammers." His diagnosis of ailments is specific; the treatment he prescribes, not in vague generalities, is wholesome; it is imperative. This reviewer knows no better book to put today into the hands of church officers and leaders to challenge them with the desperately urgent tasks ahead. This would be an excellent book to be read by the people and discussed in Wednesday night meetings, in session and deacons' meetings, in Auxiliary meetings. If every officer in the Southern Presbyterian Church would read and heed the message of this book, a reformation, long overdue, would be on the way. (He says some nice things about Presbyterian elders.) A. N. B.

THE CALL TO CONVERSION. *By Hyman Appelman.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 128 pages. $1.00. This book contains twelve stirring messages, most of them evangelistic, by one who evidently has been greatly used of God in reaching the unconverted. Born in Russia, an orthodox Jew, educated in the United States, he took up the practice of law. Later he was converted and was ordained to the gospel ministry in 1930. In these sermons the truth of the gospel is simply but powerfully presented.

J. S. A.

RESERVES OF THE SOUL. *By J. Calvin Reid.* John Knox Press, Richmond, Va. 156 pages. $1.50. This volume is a choice selection of sixteen sermons from the pen of one of our own ministers. Dr. Reid is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ga. The expositions are stimulating and original. The style is most expressive and satisfying. The author has a discerning and consecrated mind which he uses to make old familiar scenes of Scripture rich with new vistas. The themes grow out of life today. They are most practical and thoroughly scriptural. In its field, this is one of the best books we have read in a long time. Some of the themes are "Leftovers for God," "Blessings Through Unanswered Prayers," "Wealthy But Wretched," "Has God Forgotten to Be King?" "Why Do Good People Suffer?" S. J. L. C.

THE CROSS AND GREAT LIVING. *By W. E. Phifer, Jr.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 192 pages. $1.50. Advance notices of the publication of this book of sermons by a college classmate made the approach to it a very pleasant one for the reviewer. The author, formerly in Danville, Ky., is now pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Curch, Nashville. These sermons were preached to his congregation prior to Easter of last year, all with such titles as, "The Cross and Human Experience," "The Cross and Duty" and "The Cross and the Future." Other key words are: Human Values, Great Living, Faith, Hope, Love, Suffering, Certainty, Doubt, Prayer, Fear, and Power. The sermons are, almost entirely, topical. They are practical rather than doctrinal. They have a splendid modesty and an inspiring spirit. They will be helpful to many. It is good to have more Southern Presbyterian men who are writing and having their books published. Congratulations to this new author who enters that circle.

A. N. B.

THE PLIGHT OF MAN AND THE POWER OF GOD. *By D. Martin Lloyd-Jones.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 120 pages. $1.00. Here is a John the Baptist preaching with evangelistic fervor on the theme of Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Nature and Destiny of Man.* Four addresses, all based on Romans 1:18-32, set forth in darkest colors the illusion of Progress, the inadequacy of morality without religion, the nature of sin

and of the wrath of God. The final chapter discusses "The Only Solution" (Romans 1:16). Dr. Lloyd-Jones, who is Associate Minister of Westminster Chapel, London, is convinced that religion in Great Britain has rapidly deteriorated during the past century and especially during the last twenty years. While we may disagree with details of his indictment, his exposition and application of Romans 1 is both discerning and stimulating.

D. M. C.

WERE YOU THERE?—A Series of Lenten Meditations. *By Paul Zeller Strodach.* The Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia. 291 pages. $1.50. This is a book of meditations based on the old, familiar Negro spiritual, "Were you there when they crucified my Lord?" It consists of fifty chapters, each a complete meditation, and follows the same form throughout. It begins with some Scriptural sentences as a sort of call to worship, followed by a carefully selected passage of Scripture of some ten or more verses; followed in turn by the meditation of about a page and half in length; followed by a prayer, and closing always with the same collect, "O Lord Jesus Christ, Most Glorious Redeemer, my dear Lord: I adore and praise Thee, Who hast redeemed me and made me Thine Own through Thy bitter Passion and Death and Thy glorious Victory. Glory be to Thee. Amen." This prayer indicates the tone and spirit of the book and its mystical nature.

Dr. Strodach takes up one by one the individuals or groups who come in touch with the Master during Passion Week. Some of the chapter titles indicate the plan of the book: "The One Who Would be First," "Zacchæus," "Martha the Greathearted," "The Owners of the Colt," "Pilate the Politician," "Herod the Playboy." Some of them are very intriguing and usually the reader is not disappointed with the treatment, for example, "The Woman Tempted Me—The Man Jeered Me," "The Man Who Did Not Want To—But Did," "The Ten and the Two." It appears, though, that the author tried to make too many chapters out of the material, for he departed from his plan with chapters like: "On to Jerusalem" and "The Supper."

This just misses being a great book, and it also misses being a delightful one, but certainly it is most helpful and suggestive of the riches yet largely unmined by the average minister or ordinary Christian in the story of Passion Week. The author shows us how a consecrated student of the Word can find ever fresh messages from it for our hearts. J. A.

UPON THIS ROCK. *By Emile Cammaertz.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 118 pages. $1.00. It is as if "In Memorian" was written in 1943 and in prose, for this father does in regard to his son who was killed in the R. A. F. what Alfred Tennyson did in regard to his friend Arthur Hallam. And when you say "prose," you need to qualify a bit too. This prose is far

above the ordinary, with a style and a beauty suggesting high emotional verse. The author is a Belgian poet, playwright and patriot who has held the chair of Belgian Studies in the University of London for the past ten years. So far as I have been able to discover, this is by all odds the finest little volume to place in the hands of men and women whose sons may come on our American casualty lists. It is a spiritual travelogue that shuns all fakery and pretense and gets somewhere; and that somewhere is a faith capable of answering the test of reality and power. C. H. N.

THE LORD'S PRAYER. *By Clarence Edward Macartney, D. D.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 87 pages. $1.00. When a minister makes a careful study of the Lord's Prayer with a view to preaching a series of sermons on it he is often surprised to find how rich and practical a theme there is in each petition. These sermons by Dr. Macartney are simple, direct, devout, edifying. It is evident that they were delivered in the regular course of his ministry to his own people. They seek to bring out only the main ideas and lessons of the Prayer. For example, the sermon on Thy Kingdom Come has three divisions: The Kingdom of God within Us; The Kingdom as the Church now in the world, or the Kingdom of Grace; The Kingdom of Glory. These studies are not marked by any great degree of originality or profoundness but they are interesting and will be valuable either for devotional reading or for homiletical use. J. D.

CHORIC INTERLUDES. *By Mildred Jones Keefe.* Expression Company, Boston. 352 pages. $2.75 (discount in quantities). Compiled by a Boston University professor who has been a pioneer in the field of choric speaking, this volume will be especially useful to those who wish to make a beginning in this interesting and relatively unexplored field. Marginal notations indicate how the lines of the poems are to be spoken and also the interplay of solo and group voices, male and female. Choric litanies and rituals for special occasions are included. The treatment of the Biblical material will serve as a model to the director who wishes to arrange other portions of the Bible for effective use by the verse-speaking choir. Ministers, church school workers and leaders of young people's groups will find this collection a source of much fresh and valuable material for the enrichment of worship services, even apart from its use by verse-speaking choirs. W. H. S.

BRIGHT STAR ABOVE THE HILL. *By Ruth Winant Wheeler.* Format designed by Anita Browne. 40 pages. The Poets Press, New York. Paper 60 cents; cloth, with silhouette end-papers by the late Hon. Charles B. Wheeler, $1.10. The many friends of Ruth Winant Wheeler will be glad to know that a new volume of her poems (the fourth) has just come from the press. Those for whom *Seeing Through* lit up the commonplace things

of life with uncommon luster and for whom the Christmas season has been brightened by *The Star That Shines All Night* will find the springs of their spiritual life renewed once again by this inspired verse and will want to share their uplift with their friends. These pen pictures are drawn from the real life of real people, both young and old. Here are lines that have all the buoyance of a youthful hope mingled with the radiance of a mature faith. *Bright Star Above The Hills* brings strong, bracing words for days like these and sure comfort for many a night, for its lines speak of One who is always near:

"Sunrise, high noon or at midnight,
Present, unchanging is He;
Lord of the shadows and sunshine,
All that I need Him to be."

Copies of these poems may be secured by writing to Mrs. Charles B. Wheeler, 175 North Street, Buffalo, New York. H. T. K.

PRAYER POEMS. *By O. V. and Helen Armstrong.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 225 pages. $1.75. This is indeed a valuable anthology. So much so that your reviewer feels inclined to agree with the publishers when they say, "Regardless of how many books of poetry you now own—here is one you will use!" The book contains 238 prayers, all poems, divided into six main sections. The supplement contains 64 "Poems About Prayer." Indexes of subject, author, titles and first lines make the material easily available. Southern Presbyterians will be interested to know that the idea for this unique volume originated with the Rev. Oscar Vance Armstrong, D. D., who for many years served our Church as a missionary in China. J. S. A.

CHRISTIAN ANSWERS TO WAR QUESTIONS. *By Hampton Adams.* Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 96 pages. $1.00. The author of this little volume is the pastor of the Union Avenue Christian Church, St. Louis. The title describes the contents of this good book. Ten questions growing out of the prevailing war conditions are asked and answered in clear, convincing and satisfying style. Of course the questions are tremendously involved and controversial, such as "Is God In The War?", "Can Justice and Christian Love Be Reconciled?", "Can We Equate The Kingdom Of God And Our Democracy?" The answers given by Dr. Adams will give abiding peace to those who are troubled with war-time problems. The book is dedicated to the author's son, who celebrated his eighteenth birthday on the day the bill was introduced into Congress to draft boys eighteen and nineteen years old. The author is not shouting from the sidelines.

S. J. L. C.

ASCENT TO ZION. *By S. Arthur Devan.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 251 pages. $2.50. This is an excellent book on worship—one of the best—regardless of the poor taste of its dust wrapper and some illustrations which may frighten a few readers away. Earning his theological degree as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, the author has occupied important pastorates and is now the Director of the Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains. He is a Baptist, but this reviewer would call him, with approval, a "high church Baptist." "There is need for a speedy and drastic reformation in the worship of American Protestantism," he says. "Such reformation must be a *big* reformation, not the kind of boon-doggling that has sometimes passed by the name of 'the enrichment of worship.'" Presbyterians will approve his emphasis upon the objective character of worship and his statement that "the early Calvinists, for good or evil, set the commonly accepted norm of worship for English-speaking Protestants throughout the world." Their pleasure at such tributes, however, may make other truths more difficult to face. Christian worship, he says, is based upon the synagogue (rather than the temple) and the Upper Room. The communion is central. More form is needed; in fact, it is inevitable in any department of life. Leaders of worship who denounce forms continue to use their own forms, which may be of a low order. "The free service puts a tax on the minister that no man can adequately bear." A combination of form and freedom is to be sought. Every church's building committee would do well to read the chapter on "House of the Lord." "It wad frae mony a blunder free us." Caretakers and house committees can stop here: "A church should look as if somebody loved it." Choir leaders and members, but especially ministers, will be helped by the chapter on "Song of the Lord," as they relinquish music that is pious but unworthy of worship. Dr. Devan evidently is not so well aware of the better stream of modern religious education as he is of the history of worship. His suggestions about the catechism do not coincide with his doctrine as to the proper manner of teaching worship. One does not learn to worship by merely memorizing ancient phrases, however true they may be. Men learn to worship by worshiping. There is great need, to be sure, for memorizing materials which may be used in worship. The tone and emphasis of the book are fine and its style is most attractive. Leaders of worship will profit greatly by reading it. A. N. B.

THE ROOT AND FLOWER OF PRAYER. *By Roger Hazelton,* Dean of the Chapel, Colorado College. The Macmillan Company, New York. 137 pages. $1.75. This is a book on public prayer and more particularly on that part of the church service which is often called the "pastoral prayer." After dealing at some length with the general principles or philosophy of prayer, the author has two suggestive chapters on the analogy between prayer and poetry in regard to words, images, rhythm, themes, moods and movements.

One chapter is devoted to the books where material can be found and another offers practical counsel on the actual preparation and delivery of public prayer. And, last of all, Dr. Hazelton makes bold to include a number of prayers, which he has written, offering them as samples and illustrations of what he means. Every man whose office it is to lead a congregation in prayer will be grateful for any help along this line, and this thoughtful discussion calls one to larger views and higher ideals. J. D.

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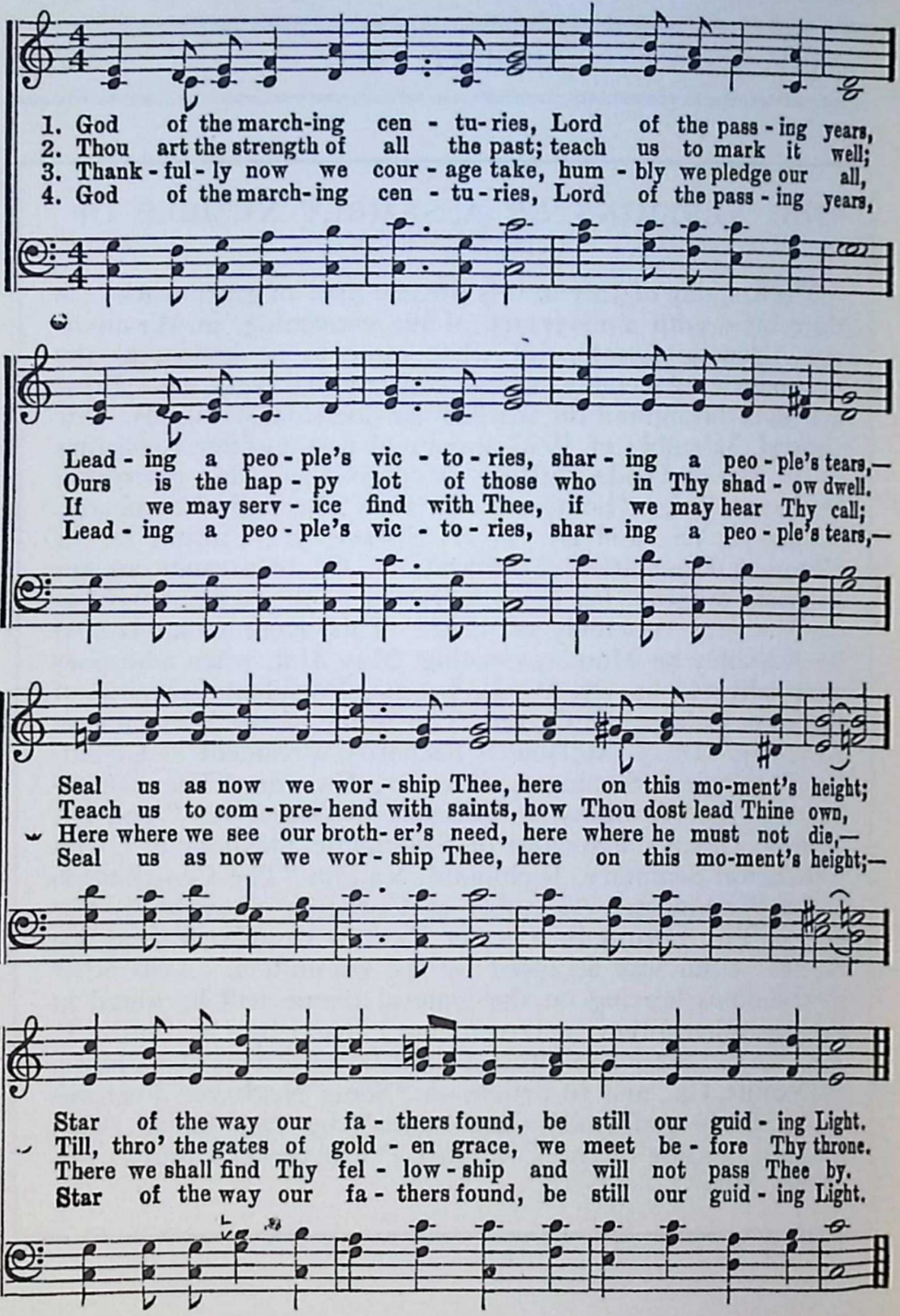
THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY NUMBER OF THE REVIEW

The first day of July in this present year of grace marks the three hundredth anniversary of the convening, in Westminster Abbey in London, of what came to be known as the Westminster Assembly, whose constructive work gave Presbyterians throughout the world their doctrinal standards. Our General Assembly of 1942 appointed a committee consisting of Dr. Henry Wade DuBose, Montgomery, Ala., chairman; Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson, of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., and Dr. T. H. Spence, Jr., Curator of the Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C., to arrange an appropriate program for the celebration of this tercentenary at the Montreat Assembly of 1943. This event took place at the Assembly on Monday evening, May 31st, when addresses were delivered by Dr. W. L. Lingle, President Emeritus of Davidson College, N. C., on "The Story of the Westminster Assembly," Dr. J. McDowell Richards, President of Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga., on "The Contribution of the Westminster Assembly to Democracy," and Dr. John N. Thomas, Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., on "The Contribution of the Westminster Assembly to Christian Thought." The offer of THE UNION SEMINARY REVIEW to publish these addresses in full was accepted by the committee. Two other contributions bearing on the general theme will be found in the pages that follow: a tercentenary hymn by Dr. Daniel P. McGeachy, Pastor Emeritus of the First Presbyterian Church of Decatur, Ga., and an article on "Some Neglected Features of the Early Reformed Confessions" by Dr. James Allen Cabaniss, Pastor of the Columbia Presbyterian Church, Columbia, Miss.

"GOD OF THE MARCHING CENTURIES"—
A TERCENTENARY HYMN

By the Rev. Daniel P. McGeachy, D. D., Th. M.,
Pastor Emeritus of the First Presbyterian Church, Decatur, Georgia

Words by Rev. D. P. McGeachy, D. D. Music by Prof. C. W. Dieckmann

1. God of the march-ing cen - tu-ries, Lord of the pass - ing years,
2. Thou art the strength of all the past; teach us to mark it well;
3. Thank - ful - ly now we cour - age take, hum - bly we pledge our all,
4. God of the march-ing cen - tu - ries, Lord of the pass - ing years,
Lead - ing a peo - ple's vic - to - ries, shar - ing a peo - ple's tears,—
Ours is the hap - py lot of those who in Thy shad - ow dwell.
If we may serv - ice find with Thee, if we may hear Thy call;
Lead - ing a peo - ple's vic - to - ries, shar - ing a peo - ple's tears,—
Seal us as now we wor - ship Thee, here on this mo-ment's height;
Teach us to com - pre- hend with saints, how Thou dost lead Thine own,
Here where we see our broth- er's need, here where he must not die,—
Seal us as now we wor - ship Thee, here on this mo-ment's height;—
Star of the way our fa - thers found, be still our guid - ing Light.
Till, thro' the gates of gold - en grace, we meet be - fore Thy throne.
There we shall find Thy fel - low - ship and will not pass Thee by.
Star of the way our fa - thers found, be still our guid - ing Light.

SOME NEGLECTED FEATURES IN THE EARLY REFORMED CONFESSIONS.

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The early confessions of the Reformed churches embody a system of doctrine which is, in the main, still authoritative today. The number of these sixteenth and seventeenth century symbolical documents is approximately thirty. They were the products of many different nationalities, English, Scottish, Swiss, German, French, Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch. Yet they all agree on the major articles of faith and most of them even on the smaller matters. Some of them are full professions; others deal with particular controverted teachings.

I.

A brief account of the confessions to be considered here will be proper. They will be mentioned in chronological order and the original language of each given in parentheses. The historical information is largely derived from the great work by Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom,*[1] a valuable compilation and discussion of all the important creeds and symbolical writings of the Christian churches.

The first is the Tetrapolitan (Latin), the oldest confession of the Reformed Church in Germany. It was hastily written during the Diet of Augsburg and presented to it on July 11, 1530. The chief author was the irenic Martin Bucer, assisted by Wolfgang Fabricius Capito (Köpfli) and Caspar Hedio (Heid), and was published in the name of four cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau—hence the title. The Lutherans had excluded the Protestant leaders of these four imperial cities because of disagreement about the Eucharist and did not allow them to join in the preparation of the famous Augsburg (Augustana) Confession. The Tetrapolitan follows the Augsburg to a certain extent and

both share a spirit of peace and moderation. On the Eucharist this confession, in an attempt to mediate between the Lutheran and Zwinglian theories, carries the germ of the Calvinistic doctrine. It never took deep root, being superseded later by more definitely Calvinistic statements.[2]

A year or so later the First Basel Confession (German and Latin) appeared, the original draft being by John Œcolampadius (Hausschein) in 1531, the completed work prepared in 1532 by Œcolampadius' successor, Oswald Myconius. It was published in 1534, and remains to this day the official public creed of the church of Basel, until recently being read every Maundy Thursday morning in the ante-communion service. It is a simple, moderate document, and Schaff says of it that it is the only Reformed confession which does not begin with a statement of the Biblical principle.[3] Neither, however, do the Tetrapolitan, Gallican, First Scots, and Belgic confessions, the Heidelberg Catechism, nor the English Articles (the Forty-two and the Thirty-nine).

The first Reformed creed of truly general or national character was the First Helvetic (German and Latin), prepared in 1526 by Bullinger, Grynæus, Myconius, Leo Judae (Jud), and Megander. This confession was favorably received even by Luther.[4]

The Consensus of Zurich (Latin), prepared in 1549 by John Calvin in consultation with William Farel and Heinrich Bullinger (but not published until 1551), is not a full confession of faith properly so called, but rather an appendix regarding the sacramental teaching of the Reformed churches. It contains the Calvinistic doctrine expressed in the language of advanced Zwinglianism, and, therefore, marks the end of the latter as a system of doctrine. After reading this, Philip Melancthon said that for the first time he truly understood the position of the Swiss. It was received with approval in France, England and parts of Germany.

Five years later Calvin issued a lengthy "Explanation" of the Consensus (nearly three times its length), interpreting it fully. This noteworthy booklet shows how far Calvin was from believing in "mere representation" or a "real absence." A few points deserve attention. Though distinguishing the signs in the Eucharist from the things signified, Calvin asserts that he does not disjoin

or separate them;[5] that readers will find in this Consensus the same doctrines as in the Augsburg (which Calvin had signed in 1541);[6] that the Eucharist is no mere memorial, no theatrical display, no deceptive figure.[7] He writes:[8]

> When we say 'the spiritual presence' they [the Lutherans] rage as though we were denying 'the real presence.' If they prefer 'real' to 'true' and set it over against 'fallacious' and 'imaginary,' then we would rather use their unprecise expression than add further cause for conflict; for we know that quarrelling over words does not befit the servants of Christ.

The Articles of Religion (English and Latin; the Forty-two of 1553 and the Thirty-nine of 1563 and 1571) of "that Protestant Reformed Church by law established in England"[9] are perhaps sufficiently well known to need no comment. They were prepared largely by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, with the advice of numerous Reformed scholars, including John Knox.[10]

The Gallican Confession (French) was based on a draft by Calvin and brought to its present form by his pupil, Antoine de la Roche Chandieu (often called by a Hebrew translation of his name, Sadeel). It was adopted by the French Protestants at the Synod of Paris in May, 1559.[11]

In August, 1560, one of the most interesting of all the confessions, the First Scots, was drawn up by order of the Parliament of Scotland. Six men named John wrote it—Knox, Winram, Spottiswoode, Hillock, Douglas and Row. It was composed in the Scots dialect, but twelve years later the General Assembly caused it to be issued in an authorized Latin version by Patrick Adamson. This confession, though more or less superseded by the later Westminster Confession, has never been entirely displaced and is still authoritative in the Scottish Kirk. The Latin version of Adamson clears up some obscure points in the Scots version.[12]

The Belgic Confession (French) follows very closely the order and contents of the Gallican. It was composed in 1561 by Guido de Brès as the chief author, assisted by Adrien de Saravia, H. Modetus, and G. Wingen.[13] It is still in use among many Reformed Dutch churches and in the Reformed Church of America.

By far the most important of all the Continental Reformed symbolic books, except perhaps the Heidelberg Catechism, is the Second Helvetic Confession (Latin). The American theologian, Charles Hodge, has said:[14]

> The Second Helvetic Confession is, on some accounts, to be regarded as the most authoritative symbol of the Reformed Church, as it was more generally received than any other and was sanctioned by different parties.

Composed by Bullinger in 1562, it was published four years later. Beyond the confines of Switzerland, it was adopted by the Reformed churches in Scotland (1566), Hungary (1567), France (1571) and Poland (1571, 1578). It was received with great favor in Holland and in England. In the latter country Bullinger's works (particularly his *Decades*) were required study for ministers below the degree of Master of Arts or Bachelor of Laws.[15]

Zacharias Ursinus (Bär) and Caspar Olevianus (Olewig) were the co-authors of the Heidelberg Catechism (German), which, except for the famous eightieth question, breathes the sweetest spirit of all the confessional books used in Christian churches. It was widely adopted and is still an authoritative creed in most Reformed churches, being of equal authority with the Westminster Shorter Catechism even in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., whose General Assembly accepted it in 1870.[16] It was published in 1563.[17]

One of the lesser symbols is the Repetition of Anhalt (Latin) of 1581. This duchy had originally embraced Lutheranism but in the controversies distracting that church adhered to the milder Philippist (or Melancthonian) party. This confession, which was in opposition to the rigid Lutheran Formula of Concord, is not quite Reformed but is a transition document. Anhalt became definitely Reformed in 1596.[18]

It took the Westminster Assembly of divines two years and three months to produce its *magnum opus,* the Confession of Faith (English), which for English-speaking Reformed Protestantism takes the same high place that the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort take for Continental

Reformed Protestanism. It was the result of the most logical and learned period of Protestant Scholasticism. It was first printed in December, 1646, or January, 1647. It has, of course, been revised many times by the bodies accepting it and has even influenced non-Reformed Protestant groups such as the Congregationalists, Baptists and others.[19]

Like the Consensus of Zurich and the Canons of Dort, the Helvetic Consensus Formula (Latin) is not a full confession but an "explanatory appendix" to earlier confessions, especially the Canons of Dort. It is a condemnation of the liberalizing Calvinism of such teachers as Josué Placeus (de la Place), Louis Capellus (Cappel) and Moses Amyraldus (Amyraut), who departed from the accepted interpretations of verbal inspiration of Scripture, particular predestination and the imputation of Adam's sin. It was prepared in 1675 by John Henry Heidegger, Lucas Gernler and Francis Turretin.[20]

The last to be dealt with here are the First and Second Bohemian Confessions of 1535 (Latin) and 1575 (Bohemian). They are compromises between the Utraquists (Hussites), Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren, and are in agreement with the Augsburg Confession and the later Melancthonian views.[21]

II.

The similarity of all the Reformed confessions consists in at least three elements: doctrine, language and scholarship.

1. The agreement on all the articles of the Apostles' Creed is well-night absolute, excepting only the phrase, "He descended into hell," about which there was and still is some uncertainty of interpretation. The authors were emphatic in their insistence that they were true to the universal faith of Christendom—as the Gallican Confession says: "And herein we avow what has been determined by the ancient councils."[22] Often this is expressed negatively in the rejection by name of the ancient heresies and schisms, such as Arianism, Manichæanism, Donatism and Pelagianism. For instance, the First Scots says: "Be quhilk our Confessioun we condemne the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, Nestorius . . . ."[23] In general their con-

tention was that they were true to the ancient faith of Christendom and that Rome had fallen away from it, or in the words of the Gallican again: " . . . the Roman Church, abandoning the usage and custom of the primitive church, has introduced new commandments . . . ."[24]

As they distinguished themselves on the one hand from the Roman Church, so on the other hand did they very explicitly con- Eucharist, inamissibility of grace, and the civil magistracy. baptist errors concerning baptism, oaths, and the magistracy, the First Basel adds:[25]

> These along with all the other doctrines which are diametrically opposed to the wholesome and pure doctrine of Jesus Christ, [we] not only do not receive, but reject and damn them as abominations and blasphemies.

As well as setting forth the generally received doctrines of all Christendom, they also express the specifically Protestant doctrines of justification by faith alone, the sufficiency of Scripture, the notes of the church, eschatology, and so forth, such doctrines being also approved by the Lutherans. Thereafter the peculiarly Reformed teachings are professed, such as double predestination, the Eucharist, ina missibility of grace, and the civil magistracy.

2. In addition to similarity of doctrine, there is a striking likeness of language and illustrative figures. One of the earliest of these confessions, the Tetrapolitan, describes the church thus:[26]

> Therefore the Church of Christ, which is also called the kingdom of heaven, is the society of those who have enlisted with Christ and have committed themselves entirely to faith in Him, with whom nevertheless there are mingled to the end of the world those who pretend faith in Christ but who do not have it. This the Lord abundantly taught in the parable of the tares.

This Scriptural figure was taken up by the First Basel to justify the "power, purpose, use, and exercise of excommunication."[27] The First Scots says: "We acknawledge and confesse, that Dornell, Cockell [*zizania,* tares], and Caffe may be sawen, grow, and in great aboundance lie in the middis of the Wheit . . . ."[28] The

Second Helvetic affirms that the church is rightly compared with a field "in which are found both tares and wheat,"[29] and the Second Bohemian says that the visible church is "like wheat mixed with tares."[30]

Another illustration, used to describe the Reformed doctrine of the Presence in the Eucharist, is that of the sun and its rays: believers receive the virtue of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, though not the substance, just as one receives the effect of the sun through its rays without coming into contact with the flaming orb itself. This figure was first used by Zwingli in his vigorous Confession of Faith sent to Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Showing that while a body may be in one particular place its power may be extended, he says:[31]

> In created things we may see that while bodies are bound to one place, their power and virtue may wander far and wide. The sun is an example. Its body is in one place, but its virtue indeed pervades all things. The human mind rises above even the stars and penetrates the depths, nevertheless the body is in one place.

Calvin, in his exposition of the Consensus of Zurich, expresses the same idea thus:[32]

> Christ therefore is away from us as regards His body; however, dwelling in us by His spirit, He lifts us into heaven to Himself, so that He transfuses into us the life-giving power of His flesh, in very much the same way as we are invigorated by the vital warmth of the sun through its rays.

The Second Helvetic Confession states:[33]

> The body of Christ is in heaven at the right hand of the Father, Hearts therefore should be lifted upward, not fastened to the bread, nor should the Lord be worshipped in the bread. Nevertheless the Lord is not absent from His church as it celebrates the supper. The sun, absent from us in heaven, is none the less effectively (*efficaciter*) present to us: how much more is Christ, the sun of righteousness, though bodily (*corpore*) absent from us in heaven, present to us in the last supper, not indeed corporally, but spiritually, through a life-giving operation, even as He explained that He Himself would be present to us—in John the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters. Whence it

> follows that we do not have the supper without Christ, although it is an unbloody and mystical supper, as all antiquity called it.

In the other Reformed confessions the comparison with the sun and its rays drops out, but the idea expressed by that comparison—that Christ in His human body is in heaven, but that His virtue and activity are present on earth in the Eucharist—is retained, generally in so many words, as in the First Basel:[34]

> We indeed confess that Christ in His holy supper is present to all who truly believe. We do not, however, imprison in the Lord's bread and wine the natural, true and substantial body of Christ, which was born of a pure virgin, which suffered for us, and which ascended into heaven.

Later, as in the Thirty-nine Articles, the language finally became so attenuated that only a faint suggestion of the rich figure remained: "The body of Christe is geuen, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heauenly and spirituall maner . . . ."[35]

3. A third similarity in all the Reformed confessions is the extensive learning displayed by the authors. Nearly all the writers were accomplished scholars of Hebrew, Greek and Latin literature. The early Tetropolitan cites John Chrysostom four times, and Augustine, Athanasius, Nestorius, Jerome, Eusebius, Epiphanius and Lactantius once each, applying to each of the first five the epithet "divus" ("saint"—or perhaps, "of blessed memory").[36] The Second Helvetic cites Augustine twelve times, Jerome four, and Irenæus, Lactantius, Epiphanius, Socrates (the historian) and "the blessed martyr" Cyprian once each.[37]

III.

These sketchy references suffice to demonstrate the likeness in all the Reformed confessions. It is now appropriate to note some developments in them, chiefly the increasing precision in the definition of certain dogmas.

1. Perhaps the most instructive is the attitude toward Scripture. All of them based their teachings upon the authority of Scripture

and cited suitable texts freely. The Tetrapolitan devotes no article specifically to the Bible, but in its first chapter, "On the Subject-matter of Preaching," has this:[38]

> We have commanded those who enjoy the privilege of preaching among us to teach nothing from the pulpit other than those things which are either contained in or clearly rest upon the sacred Scriptures.

The First Basel leaves the Biblical principle to its last article:[39]

> Finally we submit this our confession to the judgment of the sacred Biblical Scripture: and moreover promise that, if we shall be better instructed from the aforesaid Scriptures, we will at all times with deepest gratitude yield to God and His most holy Word.

This passage may be favorably compared with a sentence from the First Scots Confession to be mentioned below.

The first two articles of the First Helvetic are:[40]

> Canonical Scripture, the Word of God, delivered by the Holy Ghost, and declared to the world through the prophets and apostles, alone contains the most perfect and most ancient of all philosophies, all religion, the whole rule of life. Its interpretation should be sought from itself alone, in order that it may be its own interpreter, the rule of charity and faith regulating [it].

The fifth of the Forty-two Articles has practically the same thought, but the Gallican Confession has a more elaborate doctrine. It says that God reveals Himself to men first in His works, secondly and more clearly in His Word, which was revealed through oracles, then committed to writing. It lists the canonical books of Holy Scripture and says that they are known to be the sure rule of faith by the inward persuasion of the Holy Ghost, and may neither be added to, taken from, nor changed in any way.[41] The First Scots in its preface states:[42]

> . . . gif onie man will note in this our confessioun onie Artickle or sentence repugnand to Gods halie word, that it wald pleis him of his gentleness and for christian charities sake to admonish us of the same in writing; and we upon our honoures and fidelitie, be Gods grace do

> promise unto him satisfactioun fra the mouth of God, that is, fra his haly scriptures, or else reformation of that quhilk he sal prove to be amisse.

Its nineteenth article, "Of the authoritie of the Scriptures," affirms that Scripture is sufficient and has its authority from God.[43]

The Belgic Confession is very similar to the Gallican. It follows it in saying that men know God from two sources: first, from His works; then, more fully in His Word. The Word was first delivered to holy men, then out of God's concern for mankind committed to writing. The canonical books are listed and the assertion is made that they are proven to be canonical by the witness of the Holy Ghost in the heart. The Old Testament apocryphal books are also listed with the statement that they may be read in the church only in so far as they agree with the canonical books. The canonical Scripture fully contains the will of God and it is unlawful to add to, take from, or change them in any manner.[44] The Second Helvetic proclaims the canonical Scriptures to be the true Word of God with sufficient authority of themselves, may neither be added to nor taken from, and are to be used to confirm all the truths of religion and refute all errors. Moreover, Scriptural preaching is considered a secondary Word of God:[45]

> Wherefore when this word of God is proclaimed in the church today by preachers legitimately called, we believe that the very word of God is proclaimed, and received by the faithful . . .

The Apocrypha is not denied, but it is not clear whether this confession would allow it to be read in the churches or not. At any rate it may not be used for doctrine.[46]

The Heidelberg Catechism, though quoting such passages of the Bible as the "great commission," the Pauline account of the institution of the Eucharist, the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer, nowhere contains a separate and explicit doctrine concerning the Bible. The Thirty-nine Articles, asserting that the Bible alone is the source of the Christian faith, list the received canonical books, "of whose aucthoritie was neuer any doubt in the Churche."[47] Then after naming all the books of the Old Testament Apocrypha,

the Articles say: "the Churche doth reade for example of lyfe and instruction of manners: but yet doth it not applie them to establishe any doctrene."[48]

The Westminster Confession states that the Bible is necessary to the knowledge of the will of God and is the Word of God. The canonical books are listed, and the Apocrypha rejected as having no authority in the church. Scriptural authority is from God alone, and the inner work of the Holy Ghost is the witness to the infallible truth of the Bible. Everything necessary for salvation is either "expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced" from it. The Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek, because they were immediately inspired by God, are the final court of appeal in the church.[49]

The high-water mark, however, of the Reformed teaching regarding the Bible was reached in the Helvetic Consensus Formula in which this drastic statement is made:[50]

> The Hebrew manuscript of the Old Testament which we have received from the teaching of the Jewish Church—to which formerly the oracles of God were committed—and which we today hold as inspired both as to consonants and vowels (that is, the vowel-points or force of the points) and as to both matter and words,—that, along with the manuscript of the New Testament, is the only and unimpaired rule of our faith and life; by which standard or touch-stone (*Lydium lapidem*) all the extant versions, eastern or western, must be examined, and to which they must be called back if they vary.

The only other comparable document which makes so high a claim is the Tridentine decree erecting the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible to the status of inspired Scripture:[51]

> If however anyone receive not as sacred and canonical the aforesaid books [the Old Testament with Apocrypha and the New Testament] entire with all their parts, as they have been accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition . . . let him be anathema. . . . Moreover the same most holy synod . . . adjudges and declares that this same old Latin Vulgate edition, which by the long use of so many centuries has been approved in the church, . . . be held as authentic; and that no one may dare or presume under any conceivable pretext to reject it.

2. Another important matter in which Protestant Reformed doctrine developed is the teaching concerning the Sabbath. With this is naturally connected the whole issue of holy days. The first of the confessions to say anything on the subject other than rejecting the Lenten fast and generally disapproving the observance of one day above another is the Second Helvetic. In spite of the length the following quotation is worthy of consideration:[52]

> Although religion is not bound to time, nevertheless it cannot be established and exercised apart from a just distinction or ordering of time. Each church therefore chooses for itself a stated time for public prayers, the preaching of the gospel, and the celebration of the sacraments. Nor may anyone of his own will upset this appointment of the church. For unless just leisure be given to the exercise of external religion, men are surely drawn away from it by their own businesses. Wherefore we see that in the ancient churches not only were certain hours in the week set apart for assemblies, but that the Lord's Day was from the very times of the Apostles consecrated to them and to a holy rest: which even now is rightly kept by our churches for the purpose of worship and charity. In this we give no leave to Jewish observance and superstitions. For we do not believe that one day is more holy than another, neither do we think that rest in itself is approved by God. We celebrate with a free observance not the Sabbath but the Lord's Day.
>
> Moreover, if the churches in the exercise of Christian liberty religiously celebrate the memory of the Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Passion and Resurrection, Ascension into heaven, and the sending forth of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples, we greatly approve it. But we do not approve feasts established for men or saints. Festivals pertain to the first table of the law and belong to God alone; and indeed the festivals established for saints but abrogated by us have many things absurd, useless, and not at all to be tolerated. Meanwhile we confess that the memory of holy men in their own place and time may be usefully commended to the people in the sacred assemblies, and the holy examples of the holy men may be set forth to be imitated by everyone.

The Heidelberg Catechism gives an interesting answer to its one hundred and third question, "What does God require in the fourth commandment?"[53]

> In the first place, that the ministry of the gospel and schools be maintained; and that I, especially on the day of rest, diligently attend church, to learn the word of God, to use the holy sacraments, to call

publicly upon the Lord, and to give Christian alms. In the second place, that all the days of my life I rest from my evil works, allow the Lord to work in me by his Spirit, and thus begin in this life the everlasting Sabbath.

The peak of the Reformed doctrine of the Sabbath was achieved in the Westminster Confession and is radically different from that of the earlier Reformed theologians both on the Continent and in Great Britain:[54]

As it is the law of nature, that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so, in his Word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding on all men in all ages, he hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a Sabbath, to be kept holy unto him: which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's day, and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the Christian Sabbath.

This Sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe an holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts, about their worldly employments and recreations; but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy.

No reference is made to the observance of any other holy days, and indeed by their action the Puritan adherents of this confession proscribed even the celebration of Christmas.

The whole question of Sunday observance is due for a complete and new re-evaluation. As a matter of fact a beginning has already been made in that direction.[55] It may be noted that severe sabbatarianism was not a Judaizing invention of the Puritans but was the Protestant version of medieval rigor. For instance, the eighth century penitential called the *Judgment of Clement* prescribes that—[56]

If through negligence anyone does work on Sunday, either bathes himself, or shaves, or washes his head, he shall do penance for seven days; if he does it again, he shall do penance for forty days; and if he does it through contempt for the day and will not amend, he shall be cast out of the Catholic Church, as a Judas.

More important is the Laurentian penitential of about 1200 (based on material of 538 and 789). The translator of this says that it "in the main goes back to the legislation of Charlemagne, and is ultimately dependent on the council of Orléans of 538."[57] This canon here quoted is one of the most precise pieces of medieval Sabbath legislation:[58]

> We decree the observance with all reverence of all Lord's days from evening until evening, and abstinence from illicit work; [that] is, that there be no gainful trade, nor a tribunal in which anyone is adjudged to death or punishment, unless for the sake of making peace. We also determine according to what the Lord hath commanded in the Law, that servile work be not done on the Lord's days, as my father commanded in his synodal edicts, that men shall neither carry on rural labors—the cultivation of vineyards, or the planting of hedges, or the setting out of groves or the felling of trees—nor assemble to the tribunals; nor shall trading take place, nor hunting be engaged in. There are three tasks requiring carts that may be done on the Lord's day: Provisioning a hostelry with bread, the care of work animals, and, if it is specially needful, the carrying of someone's corpse to the burial place. Women shall not make woven work on the Lord's day; they shall not wash the head; they shall not sew garments together, nor pluck wool. It is not permissible to scutch flax or to wash a garment or to shave the crown—in order that honor and repose may in every way be accorded to the Lord's day. But they shall come together from all sides to the celebration of masses and shall praise God for all the benefits which he has deigned to bestow upon us in that day. On the Lord's day it is not permissible to sail and ride for business in connection with any tasks, nor to make bread, nor to bathe, nor to write; for if anyone projects or carries on work, he shall do penance for seven days. The washing of the head may be done in case of sickness . . .

Certainly even the Puritans could not have framed a stricter or more detailed law. In passing it is interesting to speculate on the persistent tradition that Calvin was once visited by Knox on a Sunday and was found enjoying a game of bowling on the green.[59]

3. A third point about which the Reformed confessions show a certain change with the passing years is clerical celibacy. Both Zwingli and Luther repudiated it and actually married nuns. Hence the Tetrapolitan and First Basel Confessions assert that marriage is not forbidden to ministers and justify it on the ground that

the Scripture does not forbid it but rather enjoins it for the purpose of avoiding fornication, impurity and concubinage.[60] The First Helvetic states that marriage is not repugnant to the holiness of any order, but is instituted of God for those men who are fitted for it and are not otherwise called. What that last phrase means is not clear.[61] The Forty-two Articles say that the vow of celibacy is not to be enjoined upon bishops, priests and deacons, because the Bible does not forbid them to marry.[62] The Gallican, First Scots and Belgic contain no references either to clerical marriage or celibacy, but the Second Helvetic carries an article of which one passage is of peculiar interest:[63]

> Let those who have the heavenly gift of celibacy, in order that they may be pure and continent in heart and mind nor burn seriously, serve the Lord in that calling as long as they know that they are endowed above others with the divine gift, but let them not exalt themselves above others, rather let them serve the Lord diligently in simplicity and humility. These are indeed more apt in caring for divine things than those who are distracted by the private affairs of a family. But if, the gift having been taken away, they think that the burning will endure, let them remember the apostolic word, 'It is better to marry, than to burn.'

This is a far cry from the earliest confessions, although only twenty-eight years had elapsed since the Tetrapolitan.

The Thirty-nine Articles hold a moderate position between the more Zwinglian confessions and the Second Helvetic:[64]

> Byshops, Priestes, and Deacons, are not commaunded by Gods lawe eyther to vowe the estate of single lyfe, or to abstayne from mariage. Therefore it is lawfull also for them, as for all other Christian men, to mary at ther owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlynesse.

The Westminster Confession, though containing an elaborate article "On Marriage and Divorce," does not refer to clerical celibacy or marriage.[65] The most extreme position, however, taken by the Protestant Reformed confessions is that of the First and Second Bohemian. The earlier one says:[66]

> They [the Bohemian Protestants] teach also that priests (*sacerdotes*) should not be occupied in secular affairs, and especially that they should be free from the estate of matrimony, in order that they may be more apt and more unencumbered for serving the good of their fellowman and of the church. For marriage indeed carries with it many encumbrances which hinder many from the due performance of their calling. Therefore we think that celibates to whom this peculiar gift has been given by God are more capable and more suitable for the ministry of the church. They [the Bohemian Protestants] do not indeed think that priests sin when they contract marriage, if necessity advises it, or there are other just reasons for it. For Paul clearly teaches that men chosen for performing ecclesiastical functions may be married only once.

The later Bohemian Confession is not quite so drastic:[67]

> Although we wish that priests be continent without wives and thus be able to perform the duties of their ministry with greater diligence: nevertheless, considering the counsel and ordinance of the Holy Ghost and the Apostle Saint Paul in this matter, and especially knowing that they are men and subject for the most part equally to sin and frailty according to human nature: therefore according to the tenor of the Holy Scriptures it would be valid that whoever does not have the gift of continence may without impiety take a wife according to the ordinance of the church, as Saint Paul says, 'It is better to marry, than to burn.'

The time for renewed discussion of this matter also is long overdue in the Protestant Reformed churches, and as on the Sabbath issue a well-considered, restrained beginning has already been made.[68]

4. The last point of development to be discussed here is the matter of vestments. Only two of these Reformed confessions discuss this at all, the First and Second Helvetic. The first one says:[69]

> We keep far away from our sacred assembly other too numerous and uselessly ambiguous ceremonies, vessels, cloths, vestments, lights, altars, gold, silver—in so far as they serve to pervert religion—and especially idols and images and all profane things of that sort which offer an offence in worship.

Only a quarter of a century later an article was offered for inclusion in the Second Helvetic beginning thus: "We teach that

vestments and vessels employed by the ministers in the supper should be ordinary everyday ones, though clean and honorable."[70] It goes on to say that the bread is to be placed upon the Communion table in wicker-baskets and administered to the people in wooden plates, and the "Lord's blood" (*sanguis Domini*) in wooden cups. Moreover, altars are to be eliminated and portable wooden tables to be used.[71] It is important to note, however, that this article was expunged and does not appear in the confession as adopted. Apparently feeling against such matters was not as radical as in the first flush of reformation.

IV.

After passing in this brief review the similarities of the Reformed confessions and some illuminating developments in them, it will be instructive to call to attention some of the features generally neglected in the study of them.

1. The authors all acknowledge Scripture as the norm of faith, but they are so far away from a revolutionary rejection of the historic position of the universal church that they make a special point of stating their adherence to it. This is generally expressed with reference to the Apostles' Creed, but often enough reference is also made to the Nicene and Athanasian symbols as well as to the decisions of the first four ecumenical councils and the Fathers. The First Helvetic says of the Fathers: "We receive them not only as interpreters but we venerate them as elect instruments of God."[72] The Forty-two Articles (and also the Thirty-nine) affirm that—[73]

> The three creeds, the Nicene, Athanasius' and what is commonly called the Apostles', ought thoroughly to be received (and believed). For they may be proved by most certain warrants of the Scriptures.

The Gallican approves those three creeds and goes on to express approval of "what those four ancient councils determined."[74] The First Scots, Belgic, and Heidelberg Catechism contain no such references, but the Second Helvetic professes that—[75]

> with sincere heart we believe and with freedom of expression we openly profess what is contained in the symbols and decrees of the first four and most excellent councils, held at Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, together with what is contained in the creed of blessed Athanasius and all those creeds like them.

As in other regards, this confession is a high-water mark, and here goes still further, quoting in full with approval not only the imperial edict (A. D. 380) from the Code of Justinian which identifies Catholic Christian orthodoxy with acceptance of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity but also the creed of Pope Damasus I (A. D. 366-384).[76] The Repetition of Anhalt speaks thus:[77]

> We embrace with open arms the exposition of the orthodox faith in the received creeds, Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian, and in the decrees of the councils of Antioch against [Paul] of Samosata, of Nicea against Arius, of Constantinople against Macedonius, of Ephesus against Nestorius, of Chalcedon against Eutyches . . .

2. What the early Reformed churches considered the marks of the true church proves interesting. The Reformed confessions generally list three, though the first one to set forth such a list mentions only two. It is the Forty-two Articles (the Thirty-nine have the same sentence):[78]

> The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

The First Scots contains the more normal expression:[79]

> The notes therefore of the trew Kirk of God we beleeve, confesse, and avow to be, first, the trew preaching of the Worde of God, into the quhilk God has revealed himselfe unto us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles dois declair. Secundly, the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, quhilk man be annexed unto the word and promise of God, to seale and confirme the same in our hearts. Last, Ecclesiastical discipline uprightlie ministered, as Goddis Worde prescribes, whereby vice is repressed, and vertew nurished. Wheresoever then thir former notes are seene, and of ony time continue (be the number never so fewe, about two or three), there, without all doubt, is the trew Kirk of Christ . . .

The Belgic says the same in almost the same words.[80] The Second Helvetic, though alluding to the plural "signs or notes of the true church," mentions only one: "the lawful and sincere preaching of God's Word, as it is given to us in the books of the prophets and apostles."[81] The Westminster Confession nowhere lists the marks as such, though the material is contained in it at several points.

It is fair to say that the Second Helvetic, while not mentioning among the marks the due administration of the sacraments and ecclesiastical discipline, clearly implies them. The English Church, being more or less Erastian, left discipline to the secular authority.

3. Considering the emphasis with which the Westminster Confession distinguishes between the visible and invisible church,[82] it is amazing to discover that none of the other Reformed confessions makes such a distinction. The Tetrapolitan, First Basel, First Helvetic and Gallican fail so to distinguish. The English Articles (the Forty-two and the Thirty-nine) do refer to the visible church but make no mention of the invisible.[83] The First Scots refers to the invisible but makes no mention of the visible church.[84] The Belgic, Second Helvetic and Heidelberg Catechism do not make the distinction.

Nearly all the confessions freely use the term "catholic" to describe the Reformed church, while denying it to the Roman Church, which they generally call simply "the papistical church" or "the church of the popes" or other less flattering names. It is cause for reflection that these early Reformed had no hesitancy in using a term which in their day had dangerous connotations (witness the fact that the Lutherans studiously avoided it and consistently substituted for it merely the word "Christian"), whereas their successors today, when there is no danger in it, are fearful of it.

4. The Reformed doctrine of the ministry may be subsumed under three heads: order, admission and succession.

(1). Concerning the ministry, the Tetrapolitan designates the members indifferently "bishops, teachers, and pastors" and "bishops, presbyters and pastors."[85] It considers these as belonging to only *one* order, not three,[86] and says that they should not

think of themselves otherwise than as Paul thought of Peter, Apollos, himself and others, who wished simply to be called "ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God."[87] The English Articles refer, as might be expected, to the threefold prelatic ministry of "bishops, presbyters and deacons."[88]

The doctrine of the ministry in the Gallican Confession is that of the usual Presbyterian organization. It will be noted also that the system is said to be *jure divino*:[89]

> We believe that the true church should be governed by that polity or discipline which our Lord Jesus Christ established, namely, that there be pastors, presbyters or elders, and deacons, in order that purity of doctrine may be retained, that vices be suppressed, that care be taken for the poor and other afflicted ones, as occasion may demand, and that holy assemblies be held for the edification of the small as well as of the great.

The Belgic has in general the same type of expression.[90] The Second Helvetic has a long chapter on the ministry of which this is perhaps the most important sentence: "It will be permitted now to call the ministers of the churches bishops, presbyters, pastors, and teachers (doctors)."[91] It specifically repudiates the Roman hierarchical system and acknowledges only one order.[92] The ministry is an ordinance of God, not a human device.[93] The Westminster Confession contains no doctrine of the ministry save to say that it is a gift of Christ to the catholic visible church.[94] The doctrine of the ministry was elaborated by the Westminster Assembly in its Form of Government.

(2). Most of the confessions insist on lawful ordination. The Tetrapolitan speaks of "the formally (*rite*) anointed ministers of the church."[95] The First Helvetic says of the ministry:[96]

> This function is to be granted to no one unless the ministers of the church and those to whom this affair has been committed by the Christian magistrates in the name of the church find and adjudge him to be skilled in the divine law, innocent in his life, and singularly zealous for Christ's name. Since this is the true choice of God it is to be rightly approved by the election of the church and by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters.

The Gallican mentions election only as necessary for a lawful ministry,[97] as also do the Belgic[98] and First Scots Confession.[99] But once again the Second Helvetic gives the true feeling of the Reformed churches on the subject. It says:[100]

> Let those who are chosen be ordained by the elders with public prayers and the imposition of hands. Moreover, we condemn all those who run of their own will although they are not chosen, sent, or ordained.

(3). Regarding the apostolic succession these confessions reject only the theory that it is maintained by the episcopate alone: they affirm it of the presbyters. The First Scots, while not referring specifically to the ministry but rather to the church, asserts that there always has been, is now and always will be the true church, "out of quhilk Kirk, there is nouther lyfe, nor eternall felicitie."[101] Among the notes whereby this church is distinguished from "the Kirk malignant," "lineal Descence" is not to be reckoned.[102] On the surface this looks as though it condemns any succession. However one has only to turn to the authorized Latin version to find out what was intended. There the phrase is rendered, "nec a successione perpetua episcoporum."[103] That is, the true church is not to be distinguished "by the perpetual succession of bishops." The language is significant, because Scotland did hold to the succession of presbyters, as is demonstrated by the approval given the Second Helvetic. The statement in that confession is one well worth consideration. It affirms that the ministry is one of the oldest ordinances of God. He first used the patriarchs who were later succeeded by the prophets. Then came Christ who chose disciples and made them apostles. Of these latter it says:[104]

> These, going into all the world, gathered together churches everywhere by the preaching of the gospel; finally, throughout all the churches of the world, they ordained pastors and teachers, according to the precept of Christ, through whose successors (*per quorum successores*) He has taught and governed the church even to this day. Therefore as God gave to His ancient people the patriarchs and Moses and the prophets, so to the people of the new covenant He has sent His only-begotten Son, together with the apostles and teachers of the church.

Further on it becomes even more explicit:[105]

> The apostles were attached to no fixed place, but gathered together various churches throughout the world. When these [churches] were established, the apostles ceased to be, and in place of them pastors succeeded (*subierunt*), each in his own church.

The Second Bohemian Confession refers to "the offices of pastors and ministers of the church, the true successors of the Apostles."[106]

5. It is well known that the early Reformed leaders disapproved the observance of special days, even of Sundays, as a matter of obligation. The First Helvetic ordained that there be a public religious service *every* day.[107] The Second Helvetic, in a passage cited above, heartily approved the free observance of Christmas, New Year's Day (as the feast of the Circumcision or the Octave of Christmas), Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Thursday and Pentecost (Whitsunday), and even a restrained observance of local saints' days.[108] The First Bohemian permits morning and evening services on the days of Christ (Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, etc.), of the most blessed Virgin, and of the apostles, as well as a few others.[109] The Second Bohemian in apparent agreement is dated—[110]

> in the year of our Lord, 1575, on the Tuesday after the feast of Christ's ascension into heaven, in the public assembly which was held beginning the Monday after Invocavit Sunday and continuing until the Tuesday preceding the feast of Saint Wenceslas.

6. In view of some modern attempts to discredit Mariology by portraying St. Mary as the model mother of a brood of children, it is interesting to note that the Reformed confessions profess her "perpetual virginity." The Tetrapolitan grants her the title, "Mary, Mother of God, yet Virgin."[111] The First Basel calls her "the pure and unblemished Virginia Mary,"[112] and the Second Helvetic calls her "Mary ever Virgin."[113] The Repetition of Anhalt repeats the ascription of the Tetrapolitan,[114] and the First Bohemian with great precision says: "She who called herself

the handmaiden of the Lord was virgin before bringing forth and virgin after bringing forth."[115]

7. Matters of ritual and ceremonial do not properly come within the purview of a confession of faith but are rather dealt with in a liturgy or a directory of worship. The Reformed confessions, however, do give indications as to the attitudes taken by the early Reformed churches toward ritual. The Tetrapolitan takes strong issue with the breviary, particularly the brevity of the Scripture selections in it, the hollow way in which it was recited or sung, and the superstitions that have crept into it in the course of the centuries.[116] The Mass is condemned, not generally, but on specific counts, namely, Masses for the dead, Masses to gain favor, private Masses, the Mass as a repetition of the sacrifice on Calvary.[117] The First Helvetic advocates daily services of preaching and prayer, and frequent celebrations of the Eucharist,[118] but gives no details as to the form and order.

The Second Helvetic sketches an order of Holy Communion in these words:[119]

> We think that rite, manner, and form of the supper to be the simplest and most excellent which comes nearest to the first institution of the Lord and the teaching of the apostles, that which consists in the proclamation of God's Word, pious prayers, the dominical action itself and its repetition, the eating of the body and the drinking of the Lord's blood, the saving memory of the Lord's death, and faithful thanksgiving, and also the holy association in the union of the body of the church.

The condemnation of the Mass is specific, not general. It is not the ancient Mass but the service in use at that time throughout the Roman Church that is rejected, because a wholesome action has been made into a vain spectacle, is deemed meritorious in itself, is celebrated for money, a false miracle is claimed, it is considered a sacrifice which may be offered for the dead, and is made superstitious by the worship of the saints.[120]

The Repetition of Anhalt considers ceremonies and external rites to be matters of indifference (*adiaphora*), neither commanded nor forbidden by God's Word but instituted by men, that things in the church may be done decently and in order:[121]

> We adjudge the use of them to be indifferent and voluntary, as faith and charity may counsel, for those are the sole checks on this liberty. For as faith knows what is permissible, so charity sees what is beneficial.

The First Bohemian very sanely teaches that whatever rites are not contrary to true religion should be kept and observed, and those which obscure the glory and grace of Christ should be shunned. Rites develop more or less locally and must not be imposed upon the whole church, and may be changed as occasion demands.[122] The Second Bohemian is in practical agreement. The church's rites must not be contrary to the Word of God nor superfluous, but should be pleasing and useful, serving for the honor and praise of God, the unity and edification of the church and the preservation of good order. The church is not to be unalterably bound to them, yet when the church after fair and serious thought has established them they should not be neglected, despised nor treated lightly.[123]

Incidentally this last confession uses the term "Holy Mass" to describe the service of worship in the Reformed churches.[124] As a matter of fact, the word "Mass" is non-committal, though in common speech today it is used to describe the so-called sacrifice. Even in the Roman Church it is used on occasions with no sacrificial significance, as in the expressions "Mass of the Catechumens," "Mass of the Presanctified," "Dry Mass," and perhaps even in referring to Vespers.[125]

7. It would be going too far afield to discuss in this brief compass the full sacramental position of these Reformed confessions, as exceedingly important as that subject is. However it would be difficult to refrain from some account of Zwingli's too little known Eucharistic order of worship included in his "Exposition of the Christian of the Christian Faith." Considering that Zwingli's doctrine has usually, though mistakenly, been deemed very "low," or interpreted as "mere representation," his service is amazingly rich and retains, as has been said, a "faint shadow of the Mass."[126] Because it is somwhat less familiar than Calvin's and Knox's liturgies Zwingli's is here presented with some fullness.[117]

The Holy Table, covered with a fair white cloth, stands at the foot of the choir-steps. After the usual service and sermon, and the bringing in of the unleavened bread and the pouring of the wine, three ministers (called by Zwingli pastor or bishop, deacon, and subdeacon) approach the table and take their places behind it, facing the congregation, the pastor between the other two. They wear "no vestments other than those which are usual for respectable men and ministers of the church" (that is, not the Mass vestments but the black so-called Genevan gown). They speak in the vernacular and in a clear voice, the deacons making the responses in the name of the congregation. The posture of prayer is kneeling and there is no music in the Zwinglian church. The service, which is invariable, is as follows:

Invocation

Pastor: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."
Ministers: "Amen." (The Amen is said throughout by the ministers.)
Pastor: "Let us pray."

The Collect

Pastor: "Almighty and eternal God, whom all Thy creatures rightly worship, adore, and laud as their Maker, Creator, and Father, grant that we miserable sinners may with sincere faith perform that praise and thanksgiving which Thine only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, commanded us to do. Through the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen."

The Epistle

Subdeacon (on the left) reads I Corinthians 11:20-29.

Response

Ministers: "Praise be to God."

Gloria in Excelsis

Pastor: "Glory be to God in the highest."
Deacon: "And on earth, peace."
Subdeacon: "Good will toward men." (And so forth alternately to the end)

The Gospel

Deacon (on the right): "The Lord be with you."
Ministers: "And with thy spirit."
Deacon: "The Gospel of John, the sixth chapter."
Ministers: "Glory be to Thee, O Lord."
Deacon then reads John 6:47-63, and at the end kisses the book.
Pastor: "Glory be to God, who according to His Word vouchsafes to remit all our sins. Amen."

The Apostles' Creed

Pastor: "I believe in God."
Deacon: "The Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."
Subdeacon: "And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord." (And so forth alternately to the end)

Exhortation

Pastor: "Dearly beloved brethren, we wish now, according to the rite and institution of our Lord Jesus Christ, to eat this bread and drink this cup, which He commanded to be done, in remembrance, praise, and thanksgiving for that He suffered death for us and poured out His blood to wash away our sins. Wherefore let each one according to Paul's word prove himself and ask what trust and assurance he has in our Lord Jesus Christ, lest he who does not have faith consider himself faithful and thus become guilty of the Lord's death. Neither let him despise the whole church which is His body and sin against it. Therefore fall on your knees and pray: Our Father, etc."

The Lord's Prayer

Prayer of Humble Access

Pastor: "O Lord God almighty, who through Thy Spirit hast knitted us in unity of faith into the one body which Thou hast commanded to give praise and thanksgiving for that generosity and benefit, for that Thou didst give Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to die for our sins; grant that we may fulfill Thy command with faith and not with any lying pretense offend or anger Thee, who art the infallible truth. Grant also that we may live in holiness as befitteth Thy body, Thy sons, and Thy household. By this means may unbelievers also learn to know Thy name and glory. Guard us, O Lord, that Thy name may not be brought to shame by the depravity of our life. We pray that Thou wouldst evermore increase our faith,

our undoubted confidence in Thee, O God, who livest and reignest, one God, world without end. Amen."

The Words of Institution

Said by the pastor who at the appropriate words performs the dominical action and administers to the deacon and subdeacon, then communicates himself.

Communion of the People

During which John 13 is read. The people remain seated.

Post-communion (Psalm 113)

Pastor: "Praise ye the Lord. Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord."

Deacon: "Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth and for evermore."

Subdeacon: "From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same the Lord's name is to be praised." (And so forth alternately to the end.)

Exhortation

Pastor: "Be mindful, dearly beloved brethren, of what we have now done according to the commandment of Christ. We have testified by this act of thanksgiving which we have performed in faith that we are indeed miserable sinners, but that we have been purified by the body and blood of Christ which He gave and poured out for us. We have testified that we are brothers: let us therefore demonstrate that truth by charity, faith, and mutual obligation. Let us moreover pray the Lord that we may always hold His bitter death deep within our heart, so that we may indeed die to our sins daily that we may grow and increase in all the virtues by the grace and gift of His spirit, that the Lord's name may be hallowed in us and that our neighbor may be loved and aided. May the Lord be merciful unto us and bless us, cause His face to shine upon us and be merciful unto us. Amen."

Dismissal

Pastor: "For all Thy gifts and benefits we give thanks to Thee, O Lord, who livest and reignest, one God, world without end. Amen. Go in peace. Amen."

NOTES

[1]Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom,* sixth edition (New York: Harper and Bros., 1931), three volumes.

[2]Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 524-529.

[3]*Ibid.,* 387f.

[4]*Ibid.,* 388f.

[5]H. A. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum* (Leipzig: Julius Klinkhardt, 1840), 204.

[6]*Ibid.,* 205. Cf. Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 235 and n. 2.

[7]Niemeyer, *op. cit.,* 213.

[8]*Ibid.,* 214.

[9]A phrase from the coronation oaths of the kings of England, proving the Protestant and Reformed character of the Church of England.

[10]Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 614f. Cf. T. M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1928), II, 411-415.

[11]Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 493-498; Lindsay, *op. cit.,* II, 167f.

[12]Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 680-685.

[13]*Ibid.,* 503-508.

[14]Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1885), III, 634.

[15]Schaff, *op. cit.,* II, 390-420.

[16]Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 549 and n. 1.

[17]*Ibid.,* 532-542.

[18]*Ibid.,* 563f.

[19]*Ibid.,* 754-782.

[20]*Ibid.,* 478-489.

[21]*Ibid.,* 578f. The many noteworthy Reformed confessions not considered in this paper are herewith listed to make the record complete: Waldensian Catechism (1489); Bohemian Catechism (1521); Sixty-seven Articles of Zurich (1523); Ten Theses of Berne (1528); Huldreich Zwingli's Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V (1530); his Exposition of the Christian Faith to King Francis I (1531); Catechism of Geneva (1536, 1541); Consensus of Geneva (1552); Catechism of Emden (1554); Hungarian Confession (Confessio Czengerina) (1557 or 1558); Consensus of Sendomir (Poland) (1570); Confession of the Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate (1577); Confession of Nassau (1578); Second Scots Confession (1581, 1638); Bremen Confession (1598); Hessian Confession (1607); Confession of the Heidelberg Theologians (1607); Confession of Sigismund (1614); Canons and Decrees of Dort (1619); Colloquy of Leipzig (1631); Declaration (1645). (Consult Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, *passim*).

Perhaps a word should be added about the Augsburg Confession (Latin). This statement prepared by Melancthon was presented by the Lutherans to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Ten years later a revised version of it, called the *Variata* (the earlier one being called the *Invariata*), was issued by Melancthon. It is a thoroughly Protestant confession, yet it makes all the concessions that can possibly be made to the Roman position. Calvin signed it in 1541—whether the *Variata* or *Invariata* is not known. (See Schaff, *op. cit.,* I, 225-242).

[22]Schaff, *op. cit.,* III, 363. All translations from Latin, French, German, etc., are my own.

[23]*Ibid.,* 444.

[24]*Ibid.,* 357.

[25]Niemeyer, *op. cit.,* 104.

[26]*Ibid.,* 758.

[27]*Ibid.*, 97.
[28]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 477.
[29]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 504.
[30]*Ibid.*, 836.
[31]*Ibid.*, 27.
[32]*Ibid.*, 215.
[33]*Ibid.*, 522.
[34]*Ibid.*, 96.
[35]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 506.
[36]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 747, 750f., 752, 763-768.
[37]*Ibid.*, 468, 472, 474f., 478, 480, 482, 486, 499, 510, 512, 521, 527, 531.
[38]*Ibid.*, 745.
[39]*Ibid.*, 104.
[40]*Ibid.*, 115f.
[41]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 360-362.
[42]*Ibid.*, 438.
[43]*Ibid.*, 464.
[44]*Ibid.*, 384-388.
[45]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 467.
[46]*Ibid.*, 468.
[47]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 490.
[48]*Ibid.*, 490f.
[49]*Ibid.*, 601-605.
[50]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 731.
[51]Schaff, *op. cit.*, II, 82.
[52]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 526f.
[53]*The Heidelberg Catechism* (edition used by the Reformed Church in the United States) (Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1937), 117.
[54]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 648f.
[55]See the important symposium in *The Calvin Forum*, VI, No. 6 (January, 1941), 119-121; VI, No. 7 (February, 1941), 134-137; VI, No. 8 (March, 1941), 161-164; VI, No. 9 (April, 1941), 187-190; VI, No. 10 (May, 1941), 204-207; VI, No. 11-12 (June-July, 1941), 236-239; VII, No. 1-2 (August-September, 1941), 22-25; VII, No. 3 (October, 1941), 48-51; VII, No. 4 (November, 1941), 70-72; in which Albertus Pieters, D. H. Kromminga and John Murray discuss respectively the views concerning Sabbath observance contained in Calvin's works, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Standards. See also E. E. Bigger, "The Sabbath Permanent But Movable," *The Southern Presbyterian Journal*, I, No. 3 (July, 1942), 12f.
[56]J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 278.
[57]*Ibid.*, 352.
[58]*Ibid.*, 352f. This citation also carries references to studies of Sunday observance in the Middle Ages.
[59]Schaff, *op. cit.*, 776, n. 3.
[60]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 755, 102. Cf. also pp. 7, 15.
[61]*Ibid.*, 122.
[62]*Ibid.*, 598.
[63]*Ibid.*, 532f.
[64]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 507f.
[65]*Ibid.*, 655-657.
[66]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 799f. Cf. also p. 814.
[67]*Ibid.*, 844.

[68]See Holmes Rolston, *The Social Message of the Apostle Paul* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1942), 113-115. Esp. pp. 114f.: "The decision here must be left to every individual as he faces the demands of his Lord on him. Some may find that they can best serve Christ by not marrying. Others will find that it is within the married life that they can best serve their God." Cf. also the following disinterested non-clerical opinion: "In response to the question as to whether or not she [Dr. Elizabeth Martin, resident physician at the Piedmont Hospital, Atlanta, Ga.,] is wedded to her profession completely or whether she felt that marriage plans would figure in her life, she declared that 'in the face of the present situation, matrimony should wait until more security may be seen for the future'—a conclusion applying not only to herself in particular, but to women in general who are rushing headlong into marriage now." *The Florence (Ala.) Herald*, LVIII, No. 28 (July 17, 1942), 5, quoting an Atlanta newspaper. Dr. Martin's statement applies equally well to men.

[69]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 121.
[70]*Ibid.*, 523.
[71]*Ibid.*
[72]*Ibid.*, 116.
[73]*Ibid.*, 593, 603; Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 492.
[74]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 331; Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 363.
[75]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 487.
[76]*Ibid.*, 465f.
[77]*Ibid.*, 615.
[78]*Ibid.*, 596, 605; Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 499.
[79]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 461f.
[80]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 380.
[81]*Ibid.*, 502.
[82]Schaff, *op. cit.*, 657-659.
[83]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 596, 605.
[84]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 459.
[85]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 756.
[86]*Ibid.*
[87]*Ibid.*
[88]*Ibid.*, 598, 610.
[89]*Ibid.*, 336f.; Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 376f.
[90]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 382; Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 421.
[91]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 507.
[92]*Ibid.*
[93]*Ibid.*, 505.
[94]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 658.
[95]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 756.
[96]*Ibid.*, 119.
[97]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 377.
[98]*Ibid.*, 423.
[99]*Ibid.*, 471.
[100]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 507f.
[101]Schaff, *op. cit.*, III, 458.
[102]*Ibid.*, 461.
[103]*Ibid.*
[104]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 506.
[105]*Ibid.*
[106]*Ibid.*, 837.
[107]*Ibid.*, 121.
[108]*Ibid.*, 526f.

[109]*Ibid.*, 808f.
[110]*Ibid.*, 825.
[111]*Ibid.*, 753.
[112]*Ibid.*, 90.
[113]*Ibid.*, 484.
[114]*Ibid.*, 629.
[115]*Ibid.*, 812.
[116]*Ibid.*, 763.
[117]*Ibid.*, 761.
[118]*Ibid.*, 121.
[119]*Ibid.*, 522f.
[120]*Ibid.*, 523.
[121]*Ibid.*, 637.
[122]*Ibid.*, 808f.
[123]*Ibid.*, 843.
[124]*Ibid.*
[125]William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act IV, Scene 1, Line 18. This of course may simply refer to an earlier practice of celebrating Mass in the evening. It probably does.
[126]See the excellent chapter on Zwinglian worship in Nathaniel Micklem (ed.), *Christian Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936).
[127]Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, 72-75.

THE STORY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY

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The Westminster Assembly of Divines met in Westminster Abbey, London, July 1, 1643, and remained in active session for five years, six months and twenty-two days. During that time the Assembly made the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, Shorter Catechism, Larger Catechism, Book of Government, and Directory of Worship. Whether evaluated by the work it did, or by the influence which these Presbyterian Standards have had throughout the world for the past three hundred years, the Westminster Assembly was the most important Protestant Assembly that ever met. It now falls to my lot to tell the story of this remarkable Assembly.

I. Historical Background.

Two lines of church history converged to make the Westminster Assembly possible. One was English and the other Scottish. Let us look at the English line first.

Prior to 1534 England was a Roman Catholic country, with Protestant groups here and there. But in that year, under the leadership of Henry VIII, the King, England made a complete break with the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time the Act of Supremacy was passed which declared that the King "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed to be the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." Note well that Act of Supremacy, for it looms large in the historical background of the Westminster Assembly.

No change was made in the government of the Church and very little change in doctrines and worship during the lifetime of Henry VIII. Things remained much as they were except the King was now head of the Church of England instead of the Pope of Rome.

Upon the death of Henry in 1547 his young son, Edward VI, became King, and head of the Church. Under the leadership of Archbishop Cranmer the Book of Common Prayer was made, and the Thirty-nine (originally forty-two) Articles were formulated, and it looked as if England was on the way toward a real reformation. But the untimely death of the young King in 1553 put an end to all that.

Upon the death of Edward VI, his half-sister, Mary Tudor, afterwards known as "Bloody Mary," came to the throne. She was a Roman Catholic and did her utmost to undo all that her father and brother had done and to bring England back into the Roman Catholic fold. To this end she burned at the stake Archbishop Cranmer and scores of others. Hundreds fled to the continent for safety. Many of these went to Geneva, Switzerland, where John Calvin was then at the height of his influence. There they learned Calvinism and Presbyterianism in a first-hand way.

Upon the death of Mary in 1558, her half-sister, Elizabeth, another daughter of Henry VIII, came to the throne and reigned

until 1603. Elizabeth promptly had the Act of Supremacy restored and herself thereby made the head of the Church of England. Then she allowed the exiles to return from the continent. Those who returned from Geneva and other points on the continent realized as never before that they had never had a real reformation in England. They and others began to say that the Church should have a purer government, purer doctrines, purer worship and purer living. Thus they won the nickname Puritan, which was first used about the year 1565.

Just here we may pause to say that because some Puritans developed certain peculiarities and eccentricities they have been greatly maligned. Lord Macaulay was no Puritan, but in his essay on Milton he refers to the Puritans as "the most remarkable body of men, perhaps, which the world has ever produced."

The Puritan movement grew very rapidly in England. In fact it grew so rapidly that it troubled Queen Elizabeth. She did her utmost to make the Puritans conform to the government and worship of the Church of England, but she never succeeded. By the time of her death in 1603 the Puritan movement had grown to be a mighty force in England. Let us now leave the English at this point and trace the Scottish stream.

Prior to 1559 Scotland was a Roman Catholic country with Protestant groups here and there. In that year John Knox returned from Geneva, where he had been in exile, and assumed the leadership of the reformation in Scotland. In 1560 the Scottish parliament disestablished the Roman Catholic Church, and the Presbyterian Church became the established Church of Scotland and remains so to this day. John Knox had many a conflict with Mary Stuart, the beautiful, enigmatical queen of the Scots, who did her best to swing Scotland back to Roman Catholicism. She might have won, but because of her indiscretions she was forced to abdicate. She left an infant son, who became James VI, King of Scotland. The Presbyterians took the small son and educated him hoping that they might have a Presbyterian King, but it was all in vain. He was a Stuart.

Presbyterianism in Scotland continued to grow under the leadership of John Knox and after his death under the leadership

of Andrew Mellville. By 1603 the Presbyterian Church seemed to be firmly established in Scotland.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 England and Scotland were brought together under the same King. James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, became James I, King of England and Scotland and head of the Church.

James at once proceeded to make the Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland conform to the government and worship of the Church of England, with its bishops and archbishops. To the plea of the Puritans for relief he replied: "No bishop, no king." He also said: "I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." He did harry some of them out of the land. They came to Plymouth Rock and New England. But he never succeeded in making the Puritans conform.

To the Presbyterians of Scotland he said: "Your Scottish Presbytery agreeth with monarchy as God and the devil." He succeeded in forcing some bishops upon Scotland but he never succeeded in making any large group of Scotch Presbyterians conform.

When James I died in 1625 his son, Charles I, became King of England and Scotland and the head of the Church. He was even more determined than his father to make the Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland conform to the Church of England in government and worship. His real trouble began in Scotland.

On Sunday, July 23, 1637, Charles sent his emissaries to Edinburgh to see that the service in St. Giles, John Knox's old church, was conducted according to the ritual of the English Book of Prayer. As the Dean proceeded with the service it sounded much like a Catholic mass to Jenny Geddes, a working woman, who was sitting on a stool. She accordingly picked up the stool and flung it at the Dean's head. That was a signal for a general uproar, and many missiles were hurled at the retreating Dean. The Scotch Presbyterians knew that they would have to give an account to the King for that day's uproar. With this in view they promptly did two things. First, they renewed the National Covenant to

stand by their faith and their fellow Christians even unto death. That Covenant was signed by thousands and tens of thousands of the Scottish people. Then they organized an army which marched to the border of Scotland and England to meet Charles' oncoming army.

Charles soon discovered that he did not have men and money sufficient to fight an army like that. He called for the election of a parliament to vote him men and money. To his horror the people elected a Puritan parliament. He quickly dissolved this parliament and called for another election. The new Parliament had an even larger majority of Puritans than the other one. Charles ordered it to be dissolved, but it declined and remained in session from 1640 to 1653 and came to be known as the Long Parliament. With this brief sketch of the historical background we come to the Westminster Assembly itself.

II. Call and Composition.

The Puritan Parliament soon took up the question of reforming the Church. On September 10, 1642, an act was passed, entitled: "An Act for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries," the act to take effect November 5, 1643. On June 12, 1643, Parliament passed another act with this title: "An ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the calling of an Assembly of learned and Godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the Doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretation."

The ordinance proceeds to name 121 learned divines, 10 members of the House of Lords and 20 members of the House of Commons who were to constitute this Assembly. They were directed to meet in Westminster Abbey on July 1, 1643. Dr. William Twisse was appointed as prolocutor, or moderator. Each member was to be allowed four shillings a day for expenses. I interpret the ordinance to mean that the salaries which they were receiving as preachers or professors were to be continued.

The Ordinance concludes with these words:

> Provided, always that this ordinance, or anything therein contained, shall not give unto the persons aforesaid, or any of them, nor shall they in this Assembly assume to exercise, any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever or any other power than is herein particularly expressed.

In other words, Parliament regarded the Assembly as a purely advisory body, Parliament itself being the final authority in all matters considered by the Assembly. The members of the Assembly understood it so, and when they had completed the Confession of Faith they submitted it to Parliament in these words: "To the right honourable, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the humble advice of the Assembly of Westminster Divines, sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith." All other documents were submitted in this same way.

It is interesting to note that ten members of the House of Lords and twenty members of the House of Commons were members of the Westminster Assembly. John Selden, who was a member of the Assembly from the House of Commons, made this keen observation:

> There must be some laymen in the Synod (or Assembly) to overlook the Clergy, lest they spoil the Civil work; just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milk house to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the cat eat up the cream.

All of the 121 divines, with two exceptions, were ministers in the Church of England and had received their ordinations at the hands of bishops. The two exceptions were two French Reformed pastors in London. Practically all the members were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge University, and practically all were Calvinists.

On the question of church government the members of the Assembly held a variety of views. The majority evidently believed in the Presbyterian form of government. A considerable number believed in the Congregational form. Some believed in the Episcopal form. The majority of the laymen who were appointed from the House of Lords and House of Commons were Erastians, that is, they believed in making the Church a department of State

and subservient to the State. The longest and most heated debates were concerning church government.

Perhaps the most valuable contemporary appraisal of the Assembly as a whole was made by Richard Baxter, the distinguished English preacher, theologian and writer. He was not a member of the Assembly and was not in complete sympathy with all that it did. Here is what he wrote:

> The divines there congregated were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity; and being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak the truth, even in the face of malice and envy, that, as far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind, and by other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines (taking one thing with another) than this and the Synod of Dort.

III. The Solemn League and Covenant.

While all this was taking place King Charles I was not sitting idly by. On the contrary, he forbade the meeting of the Westminster Assembly and began gathering an army to beat the Parliament into submission. Parliament also organized an army, and England was soon plunged into a civil war between the forces of the King and the forces of Parliament.

When the Parliamentary forces were hard pressed, an English deputation, headed by Sir Henry Vane, was sent to Scotland to seek military aid. As we read the story it looks as if the Scotch did a little trading. They promised the aid on condition that the Presbyterians of Scotland should have some representatives in the Westminster Assembly, and especially on condition that all members of the Westminster Assembly and all members of Parliament would sign a solemn League and Covenant to be drawn up by the Scotch. Reverend Alexander Henderson, the ablest of the Scotch ministers, prepared this remarkable document.

The heart of the Solemn League and Covenant is found in these words:

> That we shall sincerely really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavor, in our several places and callings, the preservation of

> the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches.

The conditions of the Solemn League and Covenant were agreed to and in September, 1643, all the members of the Westminster Assembly and of Parliament signed the Covenant. The Scotch sent assistance which enabled the Parliamentary forces in due time to completely overthrow the armies of the King. The Scotch also named eight commissioners, four ministers and four ruling elders. Two of the ruling elders never attended. The four ministers from Scotland were: Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie and Samuel Rutherford. They were all men of great ability and exercised an influence upon the Assembly out of all proportion to their number. These Scottish Commissioners were invited to become full members of the Assembly, but they preferred to take part in the work and discussions without a right to vote.

With the arrival of the Scotch Commissioners on September 15, 1643, and the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant the Assembly made a radical change in its work. Previous to that they had spent most of their time trying to revise the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. They seemed to have had no intention of making a new Confession of Faith. With the coming of the Scotch Commissioners and the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant the Assembly laid aside the Thirty-nine Articles and proceeded to reform the Church of England root and branch.

IV. Procedure.

Parliament laid down eight or ten very definite rules of procedure for the Assembly. To these the Assembly added several rules of its own. Every meeting was to be opened with prayer. No resolution could be voted on the day it was proposed. There must be Scripture proof for all conclusions. Every member was to have full freedom to debate any matter that was proposed. All members of the Assembly were required to take this vow:

I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the word of God; nor in point of discipline but what may make most for God's glory and the peace and good of his Church.

The most vivid description of the actual working of the Assembly is found in the Journal of Rev. Robert Baillie, a Scottish Commissioner from Glasgow. He wrote with a racy pen. We will have to content ourselves with only a few excerpts:

The like of that Assembly I did never see; and as we here say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere else is shortly like to be. They did sit in Henry VII's Chapel, in the place of the Convocation; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to the Jerusalem Chamber. . . . We meet every day of the week but Saturday. We sit commonly from nine till one or two afternoon. The Prolocutor (Dr. Twisse) at the beginning and end has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish, not much, as it seems, acquainted with conceived prayer, and the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after prayer he sits mute. . . .

Ordinarily there will be present above three-score of their divines. These are divided into three committees in one of which every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. . . . No man is called upon to speak; but whosoever stands up of his own accord, speaks so long as he will wifhout interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name, whom they desire to hear first; on whom the loudest or maniest voices call he speaks. . . . Much of their way is good and worthy of imitation; only their longsomeness is woeful at this time, when their church and Kingdom lies under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new platform of worship and discipline to their nation for all time to come, they think they can not be answerable, if solidly and at leisure, they do not examine every point thereof.

The Assembly spent much time in prayer, and fasted frequently. Again we are indebted to Rev. Robert Baillie, for this description of one of their days of fasting and prayer:

After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large for two hours, most divinely, confessing the sins of the

members of the Assembly in a wonderfully pathetic and prudent way. After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached one hour; then a psalm; thereafter Mr. Vines prayed nearly two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached one hour, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours; then a psalm. After Mr. Henderson brought them to a short, sweet conference of the heart confessed in the Assembly, and other seen faults to be remedied, and the convenience to preach against the sects, especially Anabaptists and Antinomians. Dr. Twisse closed with a short prayer and blessing. God was so evidently in all this exercise that we expect certainly a blessing both in our matter of the Assembly and the whole Kingdom.

Baillie addds that this was the "sweetest day"that he ever saw in England.

V. Accomplishments.

Thus the members of the Westminster Assembly toiled and prayed for more than five and a half years. In all they held 1,163 sessions of the full Assembly. Besides these there were hundreds and hundreds of meetings of committees and sub-committees. Let us now sum up the chief accomplishments of those five and a half years. If we will note the dates connected with each document listed below we can get a general estimate of the time spent on each document. We will also see that Parliament did not promptly rubber-stamp the work of the Assembly, but took time to give full consideration to each document. Bear in mind that the Assembly held its first meeting July 1, 1643.

1. Directory for the Public Worship of God. Completed and presented to Parliament December 27, 1644. Approved by Parliament January 4, 1645. Approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland February 3, 1645.

2. The Form of Church Government and Ordination. Completed and presented to Parliament November 8, 1644. Approved by Parliament 1648. Approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland February 15, 1645.

3. Confession of Faith. Completed and presented to Parliament December 4, 1646. Approved by Parliament March 22, 1648.

Approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland August 24, 1647.

4. Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Completed and presented to Parliament autumn of 1647. Approved by Parliament September 15, 1648. Approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland July, 1648.

5. The Psalter. Much attention was given by the Assembly to the preparation of a metrical version of the psalms for use in the worship of the Church. There were several competing versions, but the one by Francis Rous, who was a member of Parliament and of the Assembly, was finally approved after considerable revision, and presented to Parliament November 14, 1645, and approved by Parliament the next year. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland after making further revisions also approved of Rous' version.

When all these historic documents had been adopted by Parliament the Presbyterian Church became the established church of England, displacing the Anglican Church with its bishops and archbishops. But it remained the established church for only a brief period of twelve years. Upon the restoration of Charles II as King, in 1660, the Presbyterians were ejected and the Anglican Church re-established. England was never really Presbyterian at heart. The Presbyterian Church in England today has less than 100,000 members.

But it was different in Scotland. One of the most remarkable facts in Presbyterian history is that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland promptly laid aside her own Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Book of Discipline, Directory of Worship, and Book of Psalms and Hymns, all dating back to John Knox, and adopted the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Book of Government, and Directory of Worship, and Rous' version of the Psalms, prepared by the Westminster Assembly, composed of Englishmen meeting in London. This must have been a hard thing for the Presbyterians of Scotland to do. They did it for the sake of unity, believing that

it would give unity to Presbyterianism in Scotland, England and Ireland. By doing this the Presbyterians of Scotland did something far greater than they had dreamed of. They kept these Presbyterian Standards alive in the hearts of the Scottish people and then through their missions and migrations gave them to North Ireland, America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and all the world. Who knows but that the great doctrines and teachings of these Westminster Standards have come to the Kingdom for just such a time as this?

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY TO DEMOCRACY

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These are testing times for democracy. They are also days of crisis and of opportunity for the Church. Events of recent months have shown, as Mr. Churchill declared recently in addressing our Congress, that the democracies of our day are capable of waging successful war even against the militarized might of totalitarian dictatorships. That struggle, we confidently believe, will be prosecuted with success to the end. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was largely through the failure of the victorious democracies after the last world conflict that this war was permitted to come, and that the dawn of peace in our day will once again confront the democratic governments with problems more difficult than those of battle. We may confidently assert that these problems will not be solved permanently unless there is developed within the democracies an enlightenment of conscience and an uprightness of character which have too often been lacking. In this fact there exists a tremendous challenge for the Church. It is an appropriate thing that in such an hour we should pause to remember the part of large importance which the Presbyterian Church has played in

the development of democratic institutions and practices in the past, that we may the more intelligently face our responsibility for their usefulness in the future.

The fact that Calvinism and Presbyterianism in general have exerted a tremendous influence for human freedom has not entirely escaped the attention even of secular historians. For the most part these have given entirely too little attention to that chapter of Presbyterian history which we know as the Westminster Assembly, yet it is by no means impossible to show that the holding of this Assembly was of very great importance in the history of democracy as well as in that of the Church. Indeed it may well have been, as Dr. Hetherington has suggested, "the most important event in the century in which it occurred,"[1] exerting "a far more wide and permanent influence upon both the civil and the religious history of mankind than has generally been even imagined." In the limited time available for the purpose this evening, however, we can only hope to suggest some of the general aspects of that influence without endeavoring to treat them in detail.

The protracted sessions of the Westminster Assembly were themselves a part of the long struggle for constitutional rights in Great Britain,—a struggle which reached its bitterest stage at this era and which was crowned with final success for the people before the century was ended. The contest between the Crown and the Parliament of England, which had increased in intensity for many years, had at last culminated in civil war when Charles I set up his royal standard at Nottingham in the summer of 1642. Inevitably the Church was involved in that conflict from the beginning. It could hardly have been otherwise in the light of the fact that the English Reformation, as an ecclesiastical movement, had been initiated by the monarch and had continued to recognize the Crown as supreme in its authority over the Church. That authority had uniformly been exerted in behalf of the episcopal form of government and worship in the Church and in opposition to the rights of all others. Hence it came about that in this struggle it was "King and prelate on the one side, against Parliament and Puritan on the other." Although, as Dr. Warfield has written,

[1] *History of the Westminster Assembly,* by W. M Hetherington, p. 14.

the main issue was that of "representative government over against royal absolutism,"[2] there can be no doubt that there was added to it the issue of "religious freedom as over against ecclesiastical tyranny," and that very much of the strength of Parliament's position was derived from the deep-rooted religious convictions of its adherents.

The real nature of the issue was left in no doubt from the very beginning. The Westminster Assembly was called by ordinance of Parliament to perform a definite task,—a procedure which was perhaps necessary, since the supremacy of the king had left no constituted authority in the Church for the calling of such an ecclesiastical gathering, but which was to have unfortunate effects before its deliberations were ended. As might have been expected, Charles was opposed to the Assembly and issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Oxford forbidding its meeting. Thus, when the divines first came together at Westminster on July 1, 1643, they did so with full knowledge that the issue was joined and that they were placing their livings, if not their lives, in jeopardy by their action. The Puritan forces of England, which for the most part consisted of those who were definitely Presbyterian in their sympathies, were now aligned once and for all on the side of constitutional liberty and of representative civil government. It was not long until under the Solemn League and Covenant they had the full and active support of their brothers in Scotland, who had already succeeded in establishing a Presbyterian system of government in their own Church, but who saw clearly that their future was linked irrevocably with that of England.

The significance of this conflict for the political future of Great Britain and America can hardly be over-emphasized. Presbyterianism was now permanently arrayed against tyranny and, although the efforts of the Westminster Assembly were to be in some degree a failure in so far as their effects in the church life of England are concerned, they did not fail in the political sphere. When the Commonwealth was established in 1649, as S. R. Gardiner, one of the foremost authorities on the Puritan revolution has said, "The Presbyterians had done their work. They had

[2] *The Westminster Assembly and Its Work*, by B. B. Warfield, p. 5.

overthrown the monarchy, never, in the sense in which Charles understood the word, to rise again in England. The restored kingship of Charles II was fettered by Parliament in a way which would have been unendurable by Charles I . . . The supremacy of lay England in its collective capacity over king and church was, in reality, the main object for which the Presbyterians were contending, and their object, and not Charles' object, was obtained with the full co-operation of the party of the Cavaliers, when king and bishops reappeared in 1660 under changed conditions."[3]

Let it be understood that the Westminster divines were not opposed to the institution of monarchy as such. In the Solemn League and Covenant they had declared their concern for "the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity" as well as for "the true public liberty, safety and peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included." These were no idle words, for those who used them remained generally loyal to the Crown and even to Charles himself, whose execution was not in reality the work of Presbyterians. Sentiment for a republic, so far as it existed, was found principally among the Independents, and the Scottish leaders in particular made every effort to win Charles over to such a policy as would have enabled them to give him their support. Nevertheless they did unflinchingly set their faces against the divine right of kings, for they believed that sovereignty, under God, belongs to the people and not to their rulers.

The political philosophy of these men finds clear and able expression in the work of Samuel Rutherford, one of the Scottish Commissioners to the Assembly, whose *Lex, Rex*, or *The Law and the Prince* was published at this time. Rutherford argues, on the basis of Scripture but with frequent reference to other writings, that while the kingly office is from God it "floweth from the people" and that "the power of creating a man a king is from the people." He holds that the king's relationship to his people is based upon a covenant which the monarch is obligated to respect and that the king has no prerogative above law, but that, on the other hand, "the law hath a supremacy above the king." He recognizes aris-

[3]Quoted by Henry A. White in *Memorial Volume of the Westminster Assembly*, p. 28.

tocracy and democracy as forms of government which are also permissible and points out some of the advantages inherent in each system. His own preference for "a limited and mixed monarchy, such as is in England and Scotland," is clearly stated, but he also boldly asserts that "an absolute and unlimited monarchy is not only not the best form of government, but . . . the worst."[4] It is stated on the authority of Bishop Guthrie that every member of the Assembly had this book in his hand, and we may be sure that its influence not only on that body but on the political thinking of Puritans in general was profound. Indeed, it was the same political theory which made our Presbyterian forbears such loyal supporters of the Revolution for American Independence and in the light of which Bancroft was to declare that "the Revolution of 1776, so far as it was affected by religion, was a Presbyterian measure."[5]

Only passing notice can be given here to the methods followed by the Westminster Assembly in its deliberations, but it should surely be said that these were true to the noblest ideals of democracy and that they furnish a worthy example for ecclesiastical and legislative bodies today. The fullest opportunity was given for debate. In various instances the majority refrained from bringing matters to a vote, even when it was sure of carrying its point, in order that the decisions might not be forced but rather be made as acceptable as possible to all.[6] Such a policy was liable to abuse, and the small minority of Independents, if they did not originate the idea of a filibuster, at least furnished an example of it by their obstructive tactics in unnecessarily prolonging the discussions. Here both the strength and the weakness of democracy are apparent, but one is compelled to admire that spirit of conciliation and of confidence in the power of truth which determined the policy of the body as a whole. Let it be observed also that this was in reality the method upon which the Assembly relied in its efforts to establish a Presbyterian form of church government throughout Great Britain. Anxious as they were to have uniformity of government according to the system which they held to be

[4] *Lex, Rex,* by Samuel Rutherford. Edinburgh Edition of 1843, p. 191.
[5] Quoted by Egbert W. Smith in *The Creed of Presbyterians,* p. 143.
[6] *History of the Westminster Assembly,* Hetherington, p. 171.

Scriptural, they believed that this uniformity could be achieved by consent of the people rather than by force. The Solemn League and Covenant was designed to be accepted not merely by political and ecclesiastical leaders but by the people as well, and apparently the Scottish leaders at least believed that this would easily be done. Indeed, so able a man as Alexander Henderson declared that the sweeping away of prelacy and the establishment of Presbyterianism would be "a pious and profitable work" which "*without forcing of conscience* seemeth not only to be possible but an easy work."[7] The sentiment does credit to the spirit of the speaker, even though the event proved his judgment ill-founded. In reality, of course, these men came to rely too much upon the power of constituted authority rather than of truth for the establishment of their system, but their ideal lives and will continue to influence our practice of democracy.

The whole principle of religious toleration and freedom of conscience, which we hold to be so vital to true democracy, is one at which these men had only partially arrived. No doubt that fact is Providential, for if they had not been entirely convinced that Presbyterianism was the only system of church government based upon the Word of God it is hardly probable that they would have been loyal to it through the persecutions which preceded and followed the framing of the Westminster Standards. Important though it is, the spirit of tolerance toward others is not the greatest of virtues, and if these men had not possessed a more important quality the ages which followed would have suffered immeasurable loss. It is true that in contending for their own freedom of religion they failed to make sufficient allowance for the freedom of others. One of the tragedies of their day lay in the failure of the majority of Presbyterians in the Westminster Assembly to arrive at a basis of understanding with the Independents, or Congregationalists, who, though a minority in that body, came to hold dominant power in the army. Had that failure, for which both parties were in some measure responsible, been avoided, the history of subsequent Presbyterianism in England might have been different and Scotland would probably have been spared much suffer-

[7]Quoted by James Moffatt in *The Presbyterian Churches*, p. 65.

ing. Nevertheless the Westminster Assembly does mark a milestone in the progress of mankind toward the establishment of religious freedom, and forces were set in motion there which were to leave a lasting effect in history.

The right to freedom of conscience has never been more nobly stated than in the words of the Confession of Faith which these men produced: "God alone is the Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship." Well has it been said that "the people who can feel and understand that truth can never be enslaved." The passing of the years has broadened the interpretation which we give to those words and enlarged the sphere of their application, for these men apparently conceived them as applying only within the limits of that system which they held to be established beyond peradventure in Scripture, but they were stating a principle which other men were to cherish and to advance long after they had gone to their eternal reward. It was the spiritual descendants of these men who in Hanover Presbytery took the lead in writing the principle of religious liberty into the Virginia Bill of Rights in 1776[8] and who in Pennsylvania in that same year played a prominent part in writing the first state constitution proclaiming universal and complete toleration of religious opinion.[9] Only the opening sentences of the latter document can be quoted here, but they are worthy to be noted well: "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding: and that no man ought, or can of right be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to, or against his own free will and consent. Nor can any man, who acknowledges the being of a God, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil rights . . . on account of his religious sentiments, or . . . modes of . . . worship."

In the form of Presbyterial Church Government which it framed, the Westminster Assembly also made a lasting contribu-

[8] *Memorial Volume of Westminster Assembly,* Henry A. White, p. 29.
[9] *Southern Presbyterian Review,* Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 66-67.

tion toward developing the institutions of representative democracy. The polity which it envisioned was both representative and constitutional. Quite obviously this system was not the discovery nor the invention of these divines. In its origin we firmly hold that it was Scriptural, and in that day it had already been developed in various Reformed Churches, especially in that of Scotland. It remained for this Assembly, however, to prepare the statement of it which has been the principal influence since that day in moulding the government of Presbyterian Churches throughout the English-speaking world, and beyond.

The general features of that government are too well known to need detailed exposition here. The Preface to the statement of these men concerning Church Government recognizes first of all the supreme authority of "Jesus Christ, upon whose shoulders the government is, whose name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end, who sits upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it and to establish it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even forever, having all power given unto him even in heaven and in earth by the Father, who . . . gave him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all . . ."[10] The officers of the Church who are then recognized as of ordinary and perpetual appointment by Christ were "pastors, teachers, and other church governors and deacons." In reality both of the first two named were ministers of the word and the two names were given to recognize a place for differences of gifts in the ministry, rather than to indicate any essential difference in the status of the men. The "other church governors" were to be called elders and to join with the minister in the government of the church, while the deacons were to minister to the poor. The two latter offices were elective. Ordination of men to the ministry was limited to those who had "a lawful calling," and no man was "to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can show just cause of exception

[10]The quotations in this paragraph are from The Form of Presbyterial Government, Agreed Upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

against him." It was declared to be "lawful and agreeable to the word of God that the church be governed" by "congregational, classical, and synodical" assemblies, with the latter group including provincial, national, and ecumenical gatherings. Both ministers and elders were to be members of the assemblies.

This Presbyterianism, as Dr. James Moffatt writes, "is not 'democratic' in the sense that the people dictate the belief and determine the polity of the Church; it was and is 'democratic' as it claims popular representation and self-government in opposition to episcopal prelacy and anything like an Erastian absolutism on the part of the State."[11] It assured a real parity within the ministry. It guarded against any tyranny on the part of the clergy by giving the laity a rightful place in the government of the Church, and it left congregations free to choose their officers from any class in society. It also made possible a system of appeals from a lower court of jurisdiction to a higher. It is impossible to estimate accurately the influence which this system exerted on the development of representative government in the American Republic, but there is abundant reason to believe that this influence was large.

In one important respect the Assembly was severely handicapped. As a body called by Parliament and limited by its instructions it was not able to overcome the Erastian influence which prevailed in Parliament and which sought to maintain the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical matters. In the face of Parliament's desire to control even such spiritual matters as the determination of fitness to receive the Lord's Supper, the divines stood firm in defense of "the Crown Rights of Jesus Christ" and won at least a partial victory.[12] Nevertheless the Confession of Faith in its Twenty-third Chapter yielded to the civil magistrate some measure of authority in church assemblies, while its Thirtieth Chapter, which declared unequivocally that "The Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of church-officers, distinct from the civil magistrate," was never approved by Parliament. In reality, however, the ideal

[11] *The Presbyterian Churches,* by Moffatt, p. 131.

[12] *The Westminster Assembly and Its Work,* by B. B. Warfield, pp. 42-44; *The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly,* by S. W. Carruthers, pp. 11-17.

of the Assembly seems to have been that of a free Church in a free State, and the position for which it contended has received classic expression in *Aaron's Rod Blossoming,* a work of the young but distinguished Scottish Commissioner, George Gillespie. The Assembly was perfectly willing to recognize the divinely appointed place of the civil magistrate, to whom was given the "power of the sword," but it rightly held that the "power of the keys" was reserved for the Church alone.

This doctrine of separation between Church and State, which was set forth only in part by the Assembly, has had its fullest development and its finest fruits in the United States. Here the first Presbyterian Synod, when it adopted the Westminster formulas in 1729, took exception to the articles concerning the civil magistrate, and these have subsequently been amended. In practical application of their convictions the members of Hanover Presbytery took the lead in opposing the maintenance of an established church in Virginia in 1784 and succeeded there in bringing about the final separation of Church and State, which was later to be written into our national constitution in 1789.[13] There can be little doubt that the results of this policy have been beneficial both to Church and to State in America and that it will continue to be a distinctive feature of our national life.

In the final analysis, however, the greatest contribution of the Westminster Assembly to democracy does not lie in its influence upon political thought and practice. Rather will it be found in the men and women whose characters have been moulded by the religious principles which this body set forth in imperishable form. Democracy in itself is neither good nor evil. Ultimately its character and its results will be determined by its citizens. It is the glory of the Presbyterian system as set forth by the Westminster divines that it has produced citizens of intelligence, of integrity, of courage. They were men and women who recognized the authority of the sovereign God and who therefore could be trusted to govern themselves without license. They had been taught to honor the Sabbath Day and they found in it a time to develop moral fiber and to cultivate the art of thinking. They had come to recognize the permanence of the marriage relationship and the sanctity of the

[13] *Ecclesiastical Republicanism,* by Thomas Smyth, pp. 96-101.

family circle, so that their homes became places of worship and of spiritual nurture for young and old alike. It is in the decay of the faith which they cherished and the neglect of the sanctities which they observed that our own nation faces its greatest peril today. If we would make our democracy strong we must go back to the basic principles which these men taught. We must build the structure of our individual lives, of our homes, and of our government, as they erected the structure of their thought, upon the everlasting Word of God.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY TO CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

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In the strict sense of the term the Westminster Assembly made no contribution to Christian thought. Nor should this surprise us, for it is obviously not the function of such a body to originate new theology but rather to produce a definitive statement of that which is already current. Nevertheless, what a creed-making assembly may not contribute through *creation* it can contribute through the *influence* exerted by its formulations in and through those groups for which they become normative. We shall, therefore, present what, in our judgment, are the two leading features of the Westminster Standards and attempt some portrayal of their influence upon succeeding generations. This will involve a survey of these two features in the light of the modern rationalistic movement, since, from the point of view of their role in the history of Christian thought, perhaps the most significant fact about our symbols is that, while they were forged on the anvil of Protestant Scholasticism, they have ever since been tried in the furnace of modern rationalism.[1]

[1]We use the term 'rationalism' not in the strict philosophical sense but as it is frequently used by theological writers, to designate an exaggerated emphasis upon man's intellectual and moral ability.

I. The Doctrine of Scripture

The first of the two preeminent features of the Standards is the doctrine of Scripture set forth in that matchless opening chapter of the Confession. "No other Protestant symbol," says Philip Schaff, "has such a clear, judicious, concise, and exhaustive statement of this fundamental article of Protestantism."[2] Two regnant affirmations are made by the Confession in regard to Scripture.

1. *The Bible as Authoritative and Inspired*

In the first place, the Bible is exalted as the authoritative and inspired vehicle of revelation for the Christian. The books of the Old and New Testament, we read in the second paragraph, "are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life,"[3] and in the fifth paragraph we are told that through the inward work of the Spirit we gain a "full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof."[4] This unequivocal elevation of Scripture to a place of unique authority was, in reality, the very basis upon which the Assembly inaugurated its entire work, for every member vowed in part "to maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the word of God." To have taken any other stand would have been to abrogate the formal principle of the Reformation.

But while the authority and "immediate inspiration" of the Scripture is thus affirmed beyond a cavil, the Assembly refrained from adopting any particular theory as to the mode of inspiration; and from raising the question as to whether inspiration necessarily involves the absolute inerrancy of the Scripture. Here we have a prime example of the "doctrinal moderation" of the Standards praised by Dr. R. L. Dabney in his address before this body in 1897. That these men in 1643 should have contented themselves with the unelaborated statement that the Bible is inspired when most, if not all, of them believed in its verbal dictation, and when

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[2]P. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom,* Vol. I, p. 767.
[3]Confession of Faith, Ch. I, Paragraph II.
[4]Confession of Faith, Ch. I, Paragraph V.

some theologians were even insisting that the vowel points and accents of the Hebrew Bible were divinely inspired, is a mark of wisdom and of greatness. And perhaps their refusal to encumber the doctrine of inspiration with speculative details serves rather to underscore than to abate their emphasis upon the unimpeachable authority of Scripture.

But what of the value of this emphasis? As we have suggested, this is best highlighted for us as we view it against the background of the rationalistic attack on the idea of revelation. Six years before the divines gathered in Westminster Abbey, René Descartes, the founder of modern philosophy, published his epochal *Discourse on Method*. In that work he laid down the principle that man has immediate knowledge only of his own ideas and states and that he can gain other knowledge only by inferring it from certain self-evident premises. Here we have, first, an epistemological dualism which shuts man up within the private, subjective world of his own ideas, and, second, the rationalistic principle that the human faculties are the sole and sufficient source of all knowledge. Capturing the mind of the leading thinkers of the late 17th and of the 18th century, this theory of knowledge became the weapon of a concerted attack on the idea of revelation and of the Scripture as its vehicle. The principle is as clear as sunlight: if our knowledge is limited to our subjective ideas and what we can infer from them, there is obviously no such thing as revealed truth which breaks in upon our private world from beyond.

Descartes himself sought to avoid the implications of his epistemology, believing that he could prove the existence of God; and many of the 18th century rationalists, like Archbishop Tilloston, John Locke and Samuel Clarke, with more piety than consistency, retained an attenuated notion of revelation. But in the sceptical mind of the Scotsman David Hume, Descartes' essential subjectivism bore its inevitable and destructive fruit. In his *Treatise of Human Nature,* published in 1739, Hume says that "all our simple ideas in their first appearance, are derived from simple (sense) impressions . . . ."[5] Since we have no impressions either of God or of causality, we cannot, as Descartes believed, prove

[5]D. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature,* Bk. I, Pt. I, pp. 13-14, Everyman's Edition.

the existence of a Supreme Being. God is no object even of indirect rational knowledge. His existence is only a natural or instinctive belief, and the Scriptures are nothing more than the record of the subjective experiences of their authors.

From the gray crags of Edinburgh the chilling winds of Hume's scepticism blew across the shaded parks of Königsberg, and there, according to his own confession, awakened from his "dogmatic slumbers" the most influential thinker since 1643, Immanuel Kant. Epic was his struggle, telling his criticism of Hume and lasting his contribution in some sense to religion, but when the fruit of his giant mind was given to the world with the publication of *The Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781, the subjectivism of Hume had in reality won the day. In the first sentence of his introduction Kant says: "There can be no doubt that all our knowledge begins with experience,"[6] and when he had concluded his prodigious labor there could be no doubt that, for him, all knowledge likewise ends with subjective experience. We may, indeed, *believe* in God, and in His second *Critique* Kant argues that the existence of God is a necessary postulate of the moral consciousness. But as far as *knowledge* is concerned, man is left by Kant tethered to the doorstep of his own private world. From beyond its narrow confines no voice from heaven can be heard. Through its wicket gate no divine harbinger of good news can enter.

The recluse of Königsberg cast his shadow over the theological mind of the 19th century. Friedrich Schleiermacher, the founder of modern liberal theology, wrote his magnum opus, *The Christian Faith,* on the principle that theology arises "solely out of logically ordered reflection upon the immediate utterances of the religious self-consciousness."[7] In the same tradition stands Albrecht Ritschl with his doctrine of religious value judgments; Straus and Baur with their destructive criticism; Troeltsch and his followers with their boundless historical and religious relativism, and finally our current humanists, representing the nemesis of the Cartesian epistemology, who have lost not only revelation but God Himself. Nor have the dialectical theologians in our own day, with their saving

[6]I. Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason,* p. 41.
[7]F. Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith,* Intro., Ch. I, p. 8.

re-emphasis upon Scripture, yet emancipated themselves from the Cartesian-Kantian tradition. Due in no small measure to this they drive so sharp a distinction between Scripture and revelation that they are left precariously balanced between mysticism on the one hand and agnosticism on the other.

We turn from the story of this increasingly radical attack upon revelation and the Bible ready to listen with new gratitude as our Confession extols the Scripture as "the rule of faith and life." No man could fully assess the contribution of our creed's emphasis upon the authority of Scripture in a world whose dominant intellectual trend for 300 years has been antithetical to the idea of any revelation at all. Had the English-speaking Presbyterian Churches been anchored to symbols which were equivocal on the supreme place of the Bible, they might have been cast loose on the flood-tide of scepticism which has engulfed so large an area of modern thought. But with the Westminster Standards as their stay, they have been able, in the Confession's own words, "to move and induce men to an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture."

2. *The Inward Recognition of Scriptural Authority*

The second of the two ruling affirmations in regard to Scripture made by the Confession is that our full acknowledgement of its authority rests upon our inner response through the agency of the Holy Spirit. "The authority of the Holy Scripture," says the Confession, "for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God . . . ." And then follows that consummate statement in the fifth paragraph, couched in the language of precision and lyrical beauty: "We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the church to an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole, (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible

truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts."[8] Here the Assembly takes its stand in accordance with the Reformation principle of the right of private judgment. Here also it incorporates what is true and good in the rationalist movement we have delineated.

In the light of this profound insight the concept of inspiration emerges in its true role. We are not first to affirm inspiration as a dogma and then to open the Bible and bow to its utterances because we have in advance accepted them as inspired—this would be to rest its authority upon the testimony of man or Church. Rather are we to approach the Book without prejudgment, and then as the Spirit witnesses by and with the word in our hearts to its "infallible truth and divine authority," to bow our heads in the grateful realization that its sacred pages are indeed the work of "holy men taught by the Holy Ghost." We are thus to assert the inspiration of Scripture, not as the *basis* of our belief in its truth and authority, but as the *result* of that belief. Nowhere has this been more clearly stated than by Drs. A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield, who say, in regard to inspiration: "From this definition of the term it is evident that, instead of being in the order of thought, the first religious truth which we embrace, upon which, subsequently, the entire fabric of true religion rests, it is the last and crowning attribute of those sacred books from which we derive our religious knowledge . . . ."[9] . . . "Nor should we ever allow it to be believed that the truth of Christianity depends upon any doctrine of Inspiration whatever."[10]

In their recognition of the necessity of an inward accreditation of Scriptural authority the Westminster divines took their stand with the Reformers not only against the rationalist attack on Scripure but also against a crude and external authoritarianism which often threatens to arise within the Church. This is all the more remarkable and commendable when we realize that they drew up their Standards in an intolerant day which saw many Prot-

[8]Confession, Section V.
[9]Art. Inspiration: Hodges & Warfield, *Presbyterian Review,* Vol. II, No. 6, 1881, p. 226.
[10]*Ibid.,* p. 227.

estant theologians substituting Bibliolatry for pope and Council and seeking by a misuse of the doctrine of inspiration to impose the rule of Scripture in a manner as dogmatic as that of Rome. Well may we thank God today for a creed which, while holding the Bible aloft, stands likewise as a bulwark against an authoritarianism that is foreign to the Christian spirit.

II. The Centrality of God

The second of the two preeminent doctrines of the Westminster Standards is the centrality of God—and here we are using an ampler concept than that of sovereignty alone. To speak of this exaltation of God as a particular doctrine is hardly accurate, since it runs like a mountain range through every doctrine in the Confession and Catechisms. God, they teach us, is the theme of Scripture, God is the Creator, God the Ruler of the World, God in Christ the purveyor of salvation, God in His Spirit the agent of man's acceptance, God the giver of the moral law, God in Christ the Judge of all the Earth, God the chief end of Man. God is in truth the Alpha and the Omega of the Westminster Standards.

This preeminence of God in our symbols deserves more praise than we can pause to bestow. Let it at least be appreciated that in making God central they were signally faithful to the Scriptures, which from Genesis to Revelation unite in magnifying His Holy Name.

But to praise the Westminster divines for their unqualified enthronement of God is not to imply that they were infallible in all their handling of its supposed consequences. It might be plausibly argued that, while our Standards are laudably God-centered, they are not sufficiently Christ-centered. And it can with even more force be urged that the Assembly was too much the child of its own day in identifying divine sovereignty—that salient feature of a God-centered theology—with a system of unrelenting decrees which seems to reflect upon God's character and to abolish human freedom. To be sure, we read in the third Chapter of the Confession that while God did "freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin; nor is violence offered to the will of the

creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." In this statement the Assembly goes beyond Calvin, but when we follow its development of the decrees in detail, we are apt to feel that the expressed desire to defend the character of God and the freedom of man was more verbal than real. That our own Church has had this feeling would seem to be indicated by the softening of some of the harsher features of Calvinism in the Brief Statement of Belief adopted in 1913 and in the new chapter, "Of the Gospel," added to the Confession in 1942; and also by the fact that the 1938 Assembly, and with two exceptions three-fourths of the Presbyteries, approved changes in the Confession itself which would have mitigated some of its more extreme statements.

But having acknowledged that some revision may be in order, let us return to the tremendous and decisive fact that ours is a creed that makes God great. This also is a feature of our Standards that can best be appreciated as we view it against the backdrop of historical and contemporary rationalism. For rationalism was fundamentally an effort to dethrone God and exalt man in His stead. The rationalist attack on revelation, which we have already sketched, was only the epistemological aspect of this man-centered movement. It reflected a tendency gradually to elbow God out from the center to the periphery of human knowledge. When Descartes uttered his famous dictum, *Cogito ergo sum,* as the first indubitable positive truth, man was set at the epistemological center of the universe. It remained for Descartes' successors to push God ever farther back into the hinterlands of the known world. For Hume, as we have seen, God was only an instinctive belief; for Kant, a postulate; for Ritschl, a value judgment; for William James, the best bet in a baffling world; for others, an "indispensable myth"; and, finally, for a humanist like Eustace Haydon, excess baggage dropped from the streamlined train of 20th century thought. Thus the dire prediction of Auguste Comte has been fulfilled: God has been led to the borders of the universe and politely bowed out—not by science, as Comte supposed, but by the blind arrogance of a man-centered philosophy which prostitutes an innocent science to its fell purpose.

The other aspect of the anthropocentric movement has been man's moral self-exaltation. Just as he has come to feel no need for divine revelation to bring him to the truth, so he has increasingly felt no need of divine grace to redeem him from sin. Matthew Tindal, reflecting 18th century deistic thought, defines religion in unabashed Pharisaism as "a constant disposition of mind to do all the good we can, and thereby render ourselves acceptable to God in answering the end of our creation."[11] In the 19th century this sense of moral self-sufficiency was abetted by man's increasing mastery of the physical world through applied science, and by the principle of evolution, which, applied to the moral and spiritual sphere, beguiled him with the proud delusion that some ineluctable force was propelling him onward and upward forever. Cognate with this increasing self-assurance has been man's decreasing conscious need of God. As a result God has been progressively demoted: from His lofty status in Reformation theology as sovereign of the soul's destiny He was reduced by 18th century deism to the position of moral lawgiver and governor; by the 19th century pragmatism and kindred thought, to the post of man's chief assistant in the social struggle; and, finally, by our current humanism, to the ranks of the superannuated. And thus, with God both unknown and unneeded, man, in the form of human society, arises as his own chief end.

Who could contemplate this manward drift of thought during three centuries and not thank God for symbols which, enshrined in the conviction and flowing in the blood of Presbyterians throughout the English-speaking world, have done much to hold the great mass of them true to the transcendent God of their Christian heritage? Who could mark the current rebirth of a God-centered emphasis which, for all its faults and excesses, is the most beneficent movement in our theological world, and fail to note the significant fact that it has stemmed largely from the hearts of Calvinists, all of whose Standards, like those of Westminster, dare to place the sceptre in the hands of Almighty God? Or who can confront the task ahead of us in a world where for millions

[11] M. Tindal, *Christianity as Old as Creation*, p. 18.

God is but an embarrassing problem or an unlamented memory and not find joy and hope in a creed whose chief end is to glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ?

When Reinhold Niebuhr gave his Gifford Lectures in Edinburgh, a simple Scottish woman said to him, "I dinna understand a word ye say when ye preach, but somehow I ken ye're makin' God great." As we enter the portal of a new century, let us be resolved, in the spirit of our symbols, that *we* shall never fail to make God great.

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Any book noticed in these pages may be secured at publisher's price from The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Box 1176, Richmond 9, Va.

I. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES. *By Oswald T. Allis.* The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Philadelphia. 319 pages. $3.00. The following statement is taken from the jacket of the book: "In this book a scholar, whose competence to discuss this problem the critics can hardly dispute, has endeavored to show—with what success the reader will judge—that the Graf-Wellhausen-Driver-Pfeiffer theory of the Pentateuch needs not so much to be revised as abandoned." The decision is thus placed squarely where it belongs—upon the reader.

With consideration of the variant divine names and other variations in diction, with explanation of alleged doublets and allegedly composite passages, with inflexibly traditional presentation of Old Testament history, with sweeping and indefinite allusions to archæology, the author endeavors to show that critical scholarship has accomplished simply nothing for the understanding of the Old Testament Scriptures—with what success the student must judge. Along with other cautions, we should be cautious about placing upon archæology burdens too heavy to be borne. For example, if archæology proves something to have been possible, we are still far from proof that the thing actually occurred. Also tradition, when many facts conspire to bring the tradition into question, may easily be crushed under too heavy a load.

In his zeal for bringing the critics to confusion Dr. Allis seems sometimes to bring himself into equal or greater embarrassment. In the matter of the two accounts of the changing of Jacob's name to Israel he tells us that the real problem is not that the name is changed twice (he easily accounts for that fact). The real difficulty is in the fact that after both changes of the name both names continue to be used throughout both Old and New Testaments. Critical theories offer no explanation of this fact. If this failure of critical scholars is an offense, why does not Dr. Allis offer a resolution of the problem?

Query: Is the acceptance of the kind of inflexible traditionalism that Dr. Allis advocates necessary to the acceptance of all God's revealing work through the prophets and of His supreme revelation and His redemption through Jesus Christ? Many devout and humble Bible scholars are not so convinced.

Let the reader examine and judge. But let the reader also not fail to examine with all diligence the Scripture text, and other works of reverent and competent Biblical scholarship. There is a way of deriving great benefit from the new without sacrificing the truth of the old.

The reviewer has noted few typographical errors. Mention may be made of "qabed" for kabed on page 64 (in Hebrew transliteration) and "farsical" for farcical on page 199. E. D. K.

THE BIBLE IS HUMAN. *By Louis Wallis.* Columbia University Press, New York. 239 pages. $2.50. The author, by training a sociologist, is concerned to write a "secular" history of Israel. He justly complains that readers of the Bible have in general a very unrealistic idea of the subject. This he feels is due to the fact that the writers who gave us the Old Testament were more interested in a theological interpretation of history than in the social, economic and political forces actually at work in it. Thus Hebrew history has become a "tale of supernatural marvels," a revelation of God intruding into history from the outside and quite independent of the social context. This process of "desecularization," he says, must be reversed if the subject is to become real to modern readers.

No one will quarrel with any attempt to write Old Testament history on the basis of full examination of its economic and social factors. Indeed, that history cannot be written at all without such examination. But it is to be doubted if Wallis has succeeded fully in the task. He quite correctly lays stress on an irreconcilable conflict between Israel and Canaan. This conflict, he would have it, was primarily that of two opposed economic systems: the Canaanites with their society of property holding, urban aristocrats (*baalim*), and the Israelites with a rural proprietary class (*adonim*). In the one system real property was freely bought and sold; in the other it was inalienable. The history of Israel's religion is to be understood in terms of the conflict between these two.

It is not to be questioned that the war of Israel with Canaan had its social aspects (more to be understood, however, as the transition of Israel from a pastoral to an agricultural and then to a commercial society than as Wallis would have it). Nor is it to be denied that Hebrew religion was greatly concerned about social righteousness. But it is quite impossible to relegate the religious features of the struggle to the secondary position that this book accords them. For example, the altercation between Elijah and Ahab was not primarily one of economic justice, even if that feature was certainly present. Still less is the person and function of Baal to be explained as a mere reflection of the Canaanite social system (p. 29), a name first worn by men and later applied to local deities as divine symbols of the reigning order. It is, above all, quite impossible to treat the whole of the Old Testament revelation as the reflex of an economic adjustment. The effort to do so is neither sound theology nor an indication of a real understanding of the mind of ancient Israel. In any case, the reviewer can see no convincing evidence that Israelite and Canaanite societies were distinguished along the lines insisted upon in this book,—a distinction which supports its major thesis.

We must thank the author for placing much needed emphasis upon the sociological approach to the Bible. He has, in a most provocative manner, pointed to an antidote to the conventional idea of Israelite history. But the book contains—along with much that is sound and suggestive—too much

of the erroneous or the merely plausible to be recommended as a guide to an understanding of the Old Testament. The work Wallis has undertaken is a task not merely for the sociologist and the Bible student but for the trained Orientalist. J. B.

THE DAYS OF HIS FLESH. *By David Smith.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 549 pages. $1.95. Here is a new American edition (Eighth Edition Revised) of a well-known and standard work on the life of Christ. In a thirty-five page Introduction, which is technical in nature, the author undertakes, as he explains in his own words, "to vindicate the historicity of the evangelic records and adduce reason for believing that they present Jesus as He actually lived among men." In the fifty chapters of the book itself, which portray the life of Christ from The Wondrous Birth through The Resurrection, the author seeks, again in his own words, "by interpreting what the Evangelists have written, to justify the Church's faith in Him." The book is written in a narrative, readable style. The treatment is non-technical but scholarly, constituting a happy blending of the devotional and the expository. But, after all, why should a reviewer labor in the praise of a book which is so well-known among our ministers and which is annually recommended to each incoming class of seminary students?

J. B. C., Jr.

ST. MARK'S GOSPEL—A SHORT INTRODUCTION. *By M. D. R. Willink.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 56 pages. 75 cents. This is one of the practical Biblical handbooks edited by D. W. P. Blunt, D. D., Bishop of Bradford. It is written not for scholars but for young people and for laymen. Read with the Gospel according to Mark, as intended, it will make it easier for the average reader to understand this important Gospel in its historical setting and in its present day application. E. T. T.

SEEING THE MULTITUDES. *By Frederick Keller Stamm.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 129 pages. $1.50. This little book is a series of sermons on the Beatitudes. The author has written several other books and has won a name for himself as a popular preacher and radio speaker. The book is easy to read, its style is popular and it contains many effective illustrations. Dr. Stamm is a pacifist who has stuck by his pacifism, and we cannot help admiring him for his consistency. His pacifism is the kind, though, that assumes that it is the only possible Christian view, that is very harsh in its condemnation of the Federal Council, the Churches, the seminaries and all other agencies and individuals who are having any part in the military defense of our nation. In regard to this and all too many other matters the author is exceedingly critical and gives the impression of the pessimism of Elijah—"I and I only am left." He is contemptuous of realism. Surely we need the ideals of Jesus held aloft today but we

should be very realistic in seeing that our efforts result in progress toward those ideals rather than in repelling men from them. But there is much good, helpful, stimulating material in the book. S. A. C.

OUR ETERNAL CONTEMPORARY. *By Walter M. Horton.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 180 pages. $2.00. The author's subtitle is, A Study in the Present-Day Significance of Jesus, and he emphasizes the necessity of the historic revelation in Jesus as well as the Living Christ, our Eternal Contemporary. He expresses his indebtedness to Karl Heim for the main lines of the development of his thought,—Jesus the Leader, Jesus the Saviour and Jesus the Victor. The treatment is warmly evangelical. Dr. Horton writes with clarity and often with brilliance. He expresses himself in language which will be understood by the modern man and magnifies the Jesus whom he loves. The reviewer cannot endorse all of his statements and interpretations, and he feels that the brief closing "Epilogue for Non-Christians" distinctly weakens the force of his whole emphasis on the centrality of Christ, whom he has glorified and exalted in the rest of the book. However, this is a book which ministers and thoughtful laymen can read with interest and profit. J. E. B.

THE MEANING OF REPENTANCE. *By William Douglas Chamberlain.* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 238 pages. $2.00. Here is a book that will deepen any man's preaching, for we must preach repentance, and too often men have held inadequate conception of the word. Dr. Chamberlain interprets the word in the light of its New Testament use and shows that it is more radical than the common idea that "repentance is being sorry enough to quit," or a "godly sorrow for sin," important as that is. As Calvin says, repentance is a "change of mind and intention." The author points out that it is a change from the "mind of the flesh" to the "mind of Christ," a radical and far-reaching change and one that is never perfectly attained in this life; so repentance is a lifelong necessity. In his last chapter the author discusses "the meaning of these things for preaching." "The Church," he says, must be told that becoming a Christian requires a new set of values, a new pattern for life, a new mind. If one's thoughts begin and end with one's personal convenience and desires, one is disqualified for Christian living. The preacher must keep reminding the Church that it must become Christian in its ideals, its desires, and its aspirations before it can become Christian in its practice, for the conduct of a man hinges on his thought life." Such a view of repentance makes us realize the truth of the author's assertion that "there is a desperate need for the New Testament doctrine of repentance to be presented to our generation. It is the only hope for the ills of the world." J. E. B.

THE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY. *Edited by John W. Bradbury.* The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 318 pages. $1.75. This volume contains the addresses, somewhat condensed, delivered at the New York Congress on Prophecy, November 1-8, 1942. Prophecy is history written beforehand, according to this group, and the main emphases were on the distinction between Israel and the Church and the destiny of each, and the distinction between the Rapture and the Revelation of Christ. If you are acquainted with the Dispensational view-point, there is nothing particularly new in these addresses. J. E. B.

MARCION AND THE NEW TESTAMENT. *By John Knox.* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 195 pages. $2.00. This is a book that will interest students of the New Testament Canon but will have little value for the general reader. Dr. Knox is exploring the relationship of Marcion's Canon to that of the New Testament. He believes that Marcion blazed a trail when he took a primitive Gospel (not Luke) which was current in Asia Minor and added to it ten letters of Paul, so establishing the first Canon of the New Testament, on which he based his heretical views. Dr. Knox argues that the Church, to combat this heresy, wisely did not reject Marcion's canonical writings but expanded the Canon. The primitive Gospel Marcion used was expanded into our "Luke," to which was added Acts. To Luke were added the other three, making the "fourfold Gospel." To the ten Pauline Epistles accepted by Marcion the Church added three other Epistles of Paul and the other Apostolic writings. Thus Marcion's "Gospel and Apostle" were more than counterbalanced by the full Gospel and full Apostolic testimony. Dr. Knox's theory, contrary to the almost universally accepted view, holds that the four Gospels were not published before about 150 A. D. The same would be true for Luke-Acts and the collection of the Pauline Epistles. He admits that the evidence for this theory is not strong enough to prove it but also says that it is not strong enough to disprove it. His hypothesis is interesting but it will hardly affect the generally accepted view unless more evidence is uncovered. J. E. B.

II. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

THE NATURE AND DESTINY OF MAN—A Christian Interpretation. Human Destiny. Volume II of the Gifford Lectures *by Reinhold Niebuhr.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 328 pages. $2.75. No American theologian is more stimulating to thought, more provocative of criticism and dissent, more mentally and spiritually challenging, than Reinhold Niebuhr. And no lectures in recent years on this important foundation, have made a more profound impression than those of Professor Niebuhr on the Nature and Destiny of Man. The present volume on Human Destiny is one which no one interested in current theological discussion can afford to overlook.

The first volume sought "to interpret the human situation from the standpoint of the Christian faith." The present volume "seeks to present the answer of Christian faith to the human problem. It therefore analyses Christian doctrines of redemption and Christian concepts of historical destiny and compares them with alternate classical and modern doctrines." The author believes that current history has invalidated other interpretations of history "and thus has given more classical Christian interpretations of the meaning of history a new relevance."

Dr. Niebuhr believes that history finds its final meaning in the life, the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Liberal Christians have interpreted this to mean that vicarious love is a force in history which will ultimately win the victory over evil in this present world. This view Dr. Niebuhr definitely repudiates. Vicarious love will never win the complete victory in this life. Its vindication comes only in eternity. This consummation of the Christian hope is symbolized in the idea of the Second Coming of Christ, which can neither be taken literally nor dismissed as unimportant.

The fact that the perfect society can never be established, that human pride and human will still vitiate his highest endeavors, does not mean that there is nothing that man can do. Sacrificial love based on the will of God does establish harmonies in our human life. There are thus indeterminate possibilities for "achievement of more universal brotherhood." "There is no limit to santification in individual life, or social perfection in collective life, or to the discovery of truth in cultural life; except of course the one limit, that there be some corruption as well as deficiency of virtue and truth on the new level of achievement."

To the development of this general thesis Dr. Niebuhr brings his profound analyses, his discriminating judgments, his illuminating insights, both religious and historical, and his wealth of information. Few modern theologans, if any, deal so helpfully, so realistically, so profoundly and on the whole so Biblically, with man's sins and with his possibilities in Christ.

The minister who wants an easy book to read—predigested thinking—or illustrations for his next Sunday sermons will not find this book altogether to his liking. But those who are willing to think seriously on the problems of human history—who are willing to read and reread—will find ample reward. E. T. T.

VICTORIOUS SUFFERING. *By Carl A. Glover.* The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 155 pages. $1.00. The problem of suffering will be with us as long as the present world order continues. But the problem is peculiarly acute in our war-cursed world. And for this reason a stimulating study of it at this time is particularly important. This book is an attempt to state the "Christian philosophy by which life's pain and sorrow may be triumphantly met." And the author admirably achieves his

purpose. The preacher will find in this book suggestions which will greatly enrich his sermons. At the same time the book is so written that it can be placed in the hands of laymen who are struggling with life's pain and sorrow. H. R.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF G. E. MOORE. *Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp.* Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 689 pages. $4. This meaty symposium by nineteen noted scholars brings before us the life work of one of the most influential British philosophers of our century. For twenty-eight years a distinguished teacher at Cambridge, Professor G. E. Moore is best known as the pioneer spirit and dominant personality of the movement known as the New Realism. In 1903 he startled the philosophical world by his essay "The Refutation of Idealism" which unloosed an avalanche of revolt against the then regnant philosophy of absolute idealism. Like John Locke in the 17th century he is the chief defender of Common Sense philosophy in the 20th century. He is perhaps even more important as one of the most clear and constructive ethical writers of our time. His influence has also been marked in the vigorous movement known as Logical Positivism.

Is goodness a quality which cannot be analysed and which natural science cannot describe? Are friendship and love the highest intrinsic qualities known to man? Is the rightness of an act an objective fact rather than a mere feeling of approval in the mind of the man or tribe that calls it right? Is not right action always that action which produces the greatest surplus of intrinsic good over intrinsic evil or as great as any act which the agent could have performed under the circumstances? Can I not know objects around me with certainty without understanding how I know them? Is not clear, patient analysis the surest pathway to truth? Professor Moore's life-work has been given to proving affirmative answers to these questions in the most extraordinarily fine spun arguments. Today as he debates these issues in the present volume with his friendly critics and answers them with the unruffled patience which has always characterized the man it can be seen that he has retracted very few of his conclusions. He has, however, moved in the direction of the Critical Realism. For example, when he looks at his hand, he is certain that there is a physical hand before him, but he is no longer certain that the sense-datum before his mind is identical with the portion of the physical surface of that member of his body. His famous view that consciousness is a diaphanous act which literally reveals the qualities of the object without partaking of those qualities must therefore be revised. But no new definition of consciousness is given.

Professor Moore's habit of making the most of uncertainties is also seen in his re-affirmed stand on free will. Answering Professor Garnett's acute criticisms on this point, he contends that no one has ever defined the meaning of the statement "I could have acted differently" other than to say: in such moral situations I should often have acted differently if I had chosen

so to do and it is always possible that I should have chosen differently, in the sense that no man could know for certain that I should not so choose. Of one uncertainty in his mind, however, Professor Moore has not made the most. All his philosophy points towards the existence of an Infinite Being who makes right right and beauty beautiful and has given us this marvellous awareness of the world around us. But because his older brother, during his student days, upset his childhood belief in God by cynical doubts, he has never been able to recapture this certainty. He is simply silent on the issues of eternity. His life-work is another tragic instance of a great mind in whom the passion to analyse has paralysed the power of cosmic vision and caution has triumphed over faith. D. M. A.

III. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. *By Lloyd D. Holsapple.* Sheed and Ward, New York. 475 pages $3.00. Constantine the Great is one of the most influential figures in world history. His administrative system enabled the enfeebled Roman Empire to survive for another thousand years. His adoption of Christianity turned the life of the Empire and of the Church into new channels. His removal of the capital of the empire from Rome to the shore of the Bosporus vitally affected the subsequent history of Europe. His interference in church affairs created problems that have continued to plague us even to the present time. And yet well informed people generally know less of him than of almost any other world renowned figure.

This book, by an outstanding Roman Catholic scholar, written sympathetically yet critically, with careful dependence on the sources, gives us a fair and judicious study of Constantine and his influence on both Church and State. The writer recognizes the problems faced by the first Christian emperor and also his mistakes. He has given us not only an excellent biography but also a revealing history of the Church in this critical period, particularly in its relation to the State. It is a good book to read in this particular period of world history, when the relations of Church and State are once more to the fore. E. T. T.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION. The Decline of Rome to the Present. *By Francis J. Tschan, Harold J. Grimm and J. Duane Squires.* The J. B. Lippincott Company, New York. clxviii and 1447 pages. $4.75. To review briefly a volume of more than 1,500 pages, a book that traces the history of Western civilization from the decline of Rome to the present time (January, 1942) is a difficult if not an impossible task. But I am enthusiastic about this book and wish to induce every one I can to read it. It is splendid history, scholarly, yet simply and clearly written, comprehensive, including political, economic, cultural and religious factors in judicious proportion. It is illustrated with maps and with pictures and includes extensive bibli-

ographies and a good index. Recent investigation reveals that the average American is woefully ignorant even of American history, to say nothing of world history. That is bad, especially at a time when world history is in the making and when there is so much that we can learn from the past. To read this volume and to master it would constitute a liberal education. Simply to read it will orient us in our thinking and give us an indispensable foundation for understanding the present world situation. Lovers of history will find it a good "refresher," bringing many new insights. Buy this book and read it. It will be a very wise invesement—of time as well as money. E. T. T.

THE EVERYDAY WORK OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. *By S. W. Carruthers.* Published jointly by the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia) and the Presbyterian Historical Society of England. 210 pages. $2.50. This book comes at an opportune time and is of especial interest in a year when we celebrate the tercentenary of the Westminster Assembly. Thomas H. Pears, Manager and Secretary of the Presbyterian Historical Society, says that it is by all odds the most important work on the Westminster Assembly since the publication of the Baird Lectures by Alexander F. Mitchell in 1882. The author, without any attempt at literary embellishment and with but little comment of his own, tells largely in the language of the official minutes, and in that of contemporaries such as Lightfoot and Baillie, "the lesser activities of the Assembly" which in other accounts have been largely overlooked. There are chapters on Relations with Parliament, Relations with the Scottish General Assembly, Relations with Foreign Churches, Procedure, Devotional Exercises, Personal Matters and the like. The book will interest only those who are already interested in the work of the Assembly.

Here are some facts brought out by Carruthers. Like any consultative body, the Westminster Assembly contained at least three groups of men, the business-like, the diffuse and the inert, the last named being in the majority. Many members grew weary of the interminable discussions. Thus Baillie remarked: "They harangue long and very learnedly . . . only their longsomeness is woful at this time, when their church and kingdom lies under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion." Attendance was very irregular. There were 151 members of the Assembly yet the highest recorded vote was 53 and the least 21. Lightfoot says the attendance on the three grand committees was very poor. Evidently not all were as attentive as might be desired. Regulations were passed forbidding members to bring in "books or papers to read privately" during the sitting; they were to "forbear private communication" and "ordinary going from one place to another." Next to the production of the great documents the most important part of the Assembly's work was the examination of ministers whom the Commons proposed to appoint to a charge. After the Confession of Faith

and the Shorter Catechism the best known piece of work by the divines is what are usually called the "Scottish Metrical Psalms."

In a year when we shall think much of the greatness of the Westminster divines it is good to read a book like this which reminds us that they were also human. E. T. T.

MENNONITES IN EUROPE. *By John Horsch.* Memmonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa. 425 pages. $2.00. The Mennonites—direct descendants of the Anabaptists of the Reformation period—have made important contributions to our understanding of the gospel. Today the more progressive groups within the Mennonite fold are moving away—ever if very slowly—from the isolationism and the denominational peculiarities which have hitherto characterized them. For both these reasons—and others—we welcome the literature which is beginning to come in ever fuller measure from the Mennonite press.

The present volume is one of the two official volumes sponsored by the Mennonite General Conference. The second volume, *Mennonites in America,* is now in preparation.

Mr. Horsch in this volume has done a valuable piece of work,—one which is of interest to non-Mennonites as well as to Mennonites. He traces the history of the Mennonites in Europe from their rise in Zurich (after the break of the Anabaptist leaders with Zwingli) to the present time. It is the life and faith of the early Mennonites, however, with which he is largely concerned.

Presbyterians will feel that the author is not altogether fair to Huldreich Zwingli, but their historians have not been altogether fair to the Mennonites. No one will read this volume without greater sympathy for this long-suffering people and for their early martyrs who were the first to recognize that State and Church must be entirely separate. E. T. T.

THE CAPTIVES OF ABB'S VALLEY. *By Brown-Woodworth.* Printed for Robert Bell Woodworth, B. Sc., of Burlington, W. Va., by The McClure Company, Inc., Staunton, Va. 376 pages. $3.50. Order from R. B. Woodworth, Burlington, Mineral County, W. Va. This is a volume of more than ordinary religious and historical interest and value. It is two books in one. The first is *The Captives of Abb's Valley—a Legend of Frontier Life* by Rev. James Moore Brown, D. D., a son of Mary Moore. This is a thrilling story of a family of a captive maiden who became the wife of a Presbyterian minister and the mother of five ministers of this Church. It was originally published in 1854 by the Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sunday School Work, Philadelphia, and reprinted at a later date by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va. It is a story that for eighty-nine years has thrilled and inspired tens of thousands of readers. Dr. Woodworth has given in an illuminating introduction the history and

causes of the conflicts between the early settlers and the Indians and has added explanations, maps and illustrations, including pictures of the seven sons of Mary Moore and one daughter who became the wife of a Presbyterian minister and the mother of Mrs. R. L. Dabney and Mrs. B. M. Smith, whose husbands were professors at Union Theological Seminary, in Virginia. The first book consists of 97 pages.

The second book, entitled *The House of Moore,* gives the genealogical appendix to the first book, drawn chiefly from family records. This second part of the volume consists of 254 pages. It gives the early ancestral lines and all the descendants of the families, including co-lateral families, and all the descendants of the principals described in the first book. This is a volume not only of personal interest to a large number of families whose names are mentioned but of great value to all persons interested in religion and in American history. The volume preserves results of a vast amount of expensive and painstaking research. It reveals that Dr. Woodworth is a man of scholarship and scientific accuracy. Not only should it find a place in every public library. It will prove itself a valuable addition to many a private collection as well. H. W. McL.

BAPTISTS: THEIR MESSAGE AND MISSION. *By Hillyer H. Straton.* The Judson Press, Philadelphia. 173 pages. $1.25. As Professor K. S. Latourette points out in the foreword, "this volume presents in brief, readable and authoritative form Baptist history, Baptist teaching, Baptist organization, and the main facts of the Baptist world-wide enterprise." It should certainly be read by all Baptists, and by all others who would like an introduction to what Baptists believe about themselves and about the Christian enterprise. E. T. T.

A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY. Vol. IV. The Struggle with the Stuarts, 1647-1689. *By James Mackinnon.* Longmans, Green and Company, New York. 523 pages. $6.40. In a day when the fundamental liberties of mankind are once more in jeopardy it is well for us to retrace the steps by which these fundamental liberties have been secured. No story is more instructive, or more meaningful for the present age, than the struggle for political and religious liberty waged with the Stuarts in England and in Scotland during the eventful period 1647-1689. This is the fourth volume in a notable series by Dr. Mackinnon, who has many notable works in secular and religious history to his credit. It is, however, complete in itself. It takes up the story after the Westminster Assembly had come into being and after the Long Parliament, with its Presbyterian majority, had lost the support of the nation by the intolerance with which it answered the intolerance of Charles I. It is the story of Cromwell and the Independents, the story of the restored monarchy and its attempts to destroy all dissent in England and in Scotland, the story of the Covenanters and the "Killing

Times," the story of how religious toleration and the fundamentals of British parliamentary freedom finally triumphed under William and Mary. This is a valuable book for all who are interested in this important period of English history and in the important steps taken at this time toward two of the Four Freedoms for which once more we are compelled to fight.

E. T. T.

IT'S YOUR SOULS WE WANT. *By Stewart W. Herman, Jr.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 315 pages. $2.50. UNTIL THAT DAY. *By Kressmann Taylor.* Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., New York. 314 pages. $2.75. MARTIN NIEMOLLER, Hero of the Concentration Camp. *By Basil Miller.* Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich. 160 pages. $1.00. We have here three excellent books on the religious struggle in Germany, all of which deserve wide reading. After the war is over, and for generations to come, the message of these books will still need to be studied and pondered.

Stewart W. Herman was pastor of the American Church in Berlin from 1936 to 1942 and a member of the American Embassy from 1939 on. His book supersedes earlier works and gives us the most complete and up-to-date account we now possess of the Nazi attempt to take over the German soul. Observation and study convince Mr. Herman that the Nazi party intends to destroy Christianity and to substitute a new state religion in its place. In the first section of this book he describes this new state religion and how it works. In the second section he describes the church struggle from the beginning to the present time. The third section deals with the Church since the outbreak of the present war. "War," he says, "has given the German Church no respite from the hostile attention it has received since 1933. On the contrary, additional burdens have been placed upon shoulders already drooping with fatigue and discouragement." The Church, he points out, cannot disassociate itself from the national effort. But for the first time in its history the German army has marched into war without the blessings of the German Church. Mr. Herman believes that the germ of Christianity in Europe will prove to be almost indestructible. "The German Church, however,—indeed, all European Christian organizations—are in imminent danger of being destroyed. A Hitler victory would mean the ultimate extinction of the Church in the form in which Europe has known it for almost two thousand years."

Kressman Taylor, author of the best selling *Address Unknown,* gives us the same story in the form of a "fictionalized biography." The author informs us that it is a true story of a young man, son of one of the leading clergymen in Germany, himself a ministerial student and now a Lutheran minister safe in our own land, who saw the rise of Hitlerism and played an active part in the formation of the Confessional Church, which has continued to oppose Hitler's attempt to control the German

Church. The author gives actual experiences, except that he changes names to protect the owners from the fury of the Nazis. Stuart W. Herman in the book just reviewed assured us that it is a true narrative. It is absorbingly interesting. Written in personal terms, in terms of actual experience, in terms of human interest, better than any book I know it brings home the issues involved, the attempt of the State to take control of the Church, and the heroic resistance of faithful Christians. This is certainly the most readable book on the German Church struggle.

Basil Miller has given us an excellent biography of Martin Niemoeller, the leader of the German Church opposition and Germany's outstanding Christian martyr. He tells us the essential facts about Niemoeller, his early life, his experience as a submarine captain, his work as a minister, his opposition to Hitler, his persecution by the Gestapo. Niemoeller's heroic faith and his fundamental message to Germany and all Christendom are clearly presented.

I recommend the reading of these three books. Begin with Taylor, follow with Miller and end with Herman. E. T. T.

THE NAZI CHRIST. *By Eugene S. Tanner,* University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla. Privately published and distributed by the author. 53 pages. $1.50. In this meaty little volume Dr. Tanner sets forth the Nazi Christ as He is portrayed by five representative figures: three non-Christians—Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who laid the foundation for the Nazi Christ; Alfred Rosenberg, the official philosopher of National Socialism, and Ernst Bergman, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leipzig—and two German Christian pastors.

Some Nazis blaspheme the name of Christ but "the more general approach of the Nazis, whether they are neo-pagans or German Christians, is to express high regard for Jesus and then proceed to interpret Him in such a way as to make Him thoroughly congenial to National Socialism." Chamberlain proves to the satisfaction of the Nazis that Jesus was not a Jew; Rosenberg rejects the Old Testament, the Cross, the Pauline interpretation of Christ, and makes Him a fiery hero after the Nazi model; Bergman teaches that the Christ who saves us is the Christ that each one of us bears within himself; the German Christians are nearer to neo-paganism than to any pre-Hitler Protestant position.

Dr. Tanner has drawn his material directly from the sources. It is a valuable documentation of the new Nazi religion. E. T. T.

THE FIGHT OF THE NORWEGIAN CHURCH AGAINST NAZISM. *By Bjarne Hoye and Trygve M. Ager.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 180 pages. $1.75. The fight of the Norwegian Church against Nazism is one

of the heroic epics in the history of the Church. The story is told here—up to the present moment—simply, without any attempt to dramatize or to embellish, by two laymen, who are in the Norwegian Information Service and have access to the facts. It is a story which all the Church should know.

The authors make it clear that all factions of the Church, with negligible exceptions, are united in opposition to the Nazi control. Only 27 out of the thousand ministers in Norway are active Quislings and only 60 have maintained connection with the Quisling government. The rest have severed all relations with the State. They continue to minister to the spiritual needs of their congregations but are supported by anonymous gifts instead of by a salary from the State. Many have been sent to the concentration camp. Some like Bishop Berggrav are still under arrest. The leadership furnished by the Church has merged it more closely than ever before with the Norwegian people. It has stimulated a religious awakening which has spread over Norway in the midst of all its hardship.

The more important documents in the Church struggle are given in this book in full. E. T. T.

THEN AND NOW. The Historic Church and the Younger Churches. *By John Foster.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 182 pages. $1.75. This heart-warming and very inspiring book was written by one who served as a missionary, is now a professor of Church History (in Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England), an ecclesiastical statesman and a truly great Christian. The author discusses the problems of the World Church in the present day in the light of the experience of the early Church. He draws on his experience as a missionary, his deep insight into the New Testament and his vital grasp of church history to illuminate the problems of our own day. The book culminates in a plea for the realization of a larger degree of church unity and with many helpful suggestions thereto, a more effective missionary approach, a more realistic Christian strategy and a definite education for world churchmanship. E. T. T.

THE WORLD'S GREAT CATHOLIC LITERATURE. *By George N. Shuster.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 441 pages. $3.00. We have here a choice anthology of Catholic prose from the days of the Apostles to the present time. The selections from the early Church, the Middle Ages, the early Renaissance and in part from the period of Religious Humanism belong to the Church Universal. Later selections—Religious Humanism, an Expanding Faith, the 19th Century and after, Modern Creative and Critical Writing—draw only from members of the Roman Catholic Church or from writers who throw light on Roman Catholicism. The selections not only cover the centuries. They are drawn, as the author says, from

"saints and poor sinners"; not only from religious leaders but from ordinary laymen, historians, artists, critics and the like. An anthology of religious prose, carefully selected, representing such diverse figures as Augustine and King Alfred and the Venerable Bede and Savonarola and Thomas à Kempis and Erasmus and John Tauler and Ignatius Loyola and Pope Leo XII and Lord Macauley and Joyce Kilmer and Gilbert Chesterton and a host of others is bound to be worth having and well worth reading. Not only Roman Catholics but also Protestants will find here much to instruct and to inspire. E. T. T.

THE HISTORY OF MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE. *By Mary Watters, Ph. D.* Published by Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Va. 629 pages. $3.50. In 1942 this "oldest of the Virginia colleges founded solely for the education of women" completed a full century of service. The richness of this service was sketched by Dr. L. Wilson Jarman, the President of the College, in an address delivered before the Synod of Virginia, in session at Mary Baldwin last September, and published in the November number of the REVIEW and in the concluding portion of this book. It fell to Dr. Watters, the Research Professor of History of Mary Baldwin, to present the detailed centennial history of the College. Availing herself of an abundance of source material found in the school's official records and publications, church minutes, city and church papers, magazines and books, letters from alumnae, and the invaluable *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary* by the careful historian, J. A. Waddell, Dr. Watters has given in this large volume not only a readable but a fascinating story of an unusual school. How the story develops is indicated by the headings of the four chapters that make up the book: 1. The Beginnings of the Augusta Female Seminary; 2. Mary Julia Baldwin and the Golden Age of the Seminary, 1863-1897; 3. From Seminary to College: Problems of an Era of Transition, 1897-1929, and 4. Mary Baldwin College Since 1929—the Administration of President Jarman. Quite an understandable error occurs on page 53, where Dr. Benjamin M. Smith, valiant helper of the school through his ten years' pastorate of the Staunton Presbyterian Church, is spoken of as rendering vital service to the College at Hampden-Sydney "after the ravages of the Civil War." This help was given to the Union Theological Seminary, also at that time located there. The book is excellently documented and indexed and attractively printed and bound, a dozen illustrations adding to its value. The book should stimulate the writing of the history of many another worthwhile institution. J. G. McA.

IV. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

HERITAGE AND DESTINY. *By John A. Mackay.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 109 pages. $1.50. This little book by Dr. Mackay is one of the finest pieces of creative thinking and writing which it has been my privilege to read in recent years. Dr. Mackay takes his cue from the way in which nations such as Germany and Japan have sought to go back into the heritage of the past to find there the insights which will determine their destiny in the present. He points out, of course, the way in which this seeking into the roots of the past for guidance in the need of today has been perverted in the case of these nations. But he holds to the essential soundness of the insight that our destiny is rooted in our heritage. The future grows out of the present and the present roots in the past. That which a nation can *become* is rooted in that which the nation *has come from.*

Against this background Dr. Mackay shows that the culture of the Western world has rooted in the acknowledgment of God in Christ. He speaks as the prophet of old as he calls those who would follow after righteousness and seek the Lord today to "look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit (or quarry) whence ye were digged."

With peculiar power Dr. Mackay applies this insight to the dilemma of modern culture and to the sense of frustration in our national life. He shows that modern culture has lost its integrating factor and that this can be recovered only as the culture of the modern world finds its center again in the revelation of God in Christ. The last chapter is an attempt to define the destiny of America in the modern world. Dr. Mackay asserts that "there is power in the God who comes to us in the Hebrew-Christian tradition, which is our heritage, to pilot us through the darkness and neutralize all the natural tendencies to impotence and dissolution." He is confident that it is here, and here alone, that America can discover in her heritage that which is the key to her destiny. H. R.

THE PEACE WE FIGHT FOR. *By Hiram Motherwell.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 281 pages. $3.00. This is one of the most practical and one of the most realistic books yet to appear on the problems that the United Nations will face after the defeat of the Axis powers. Mr. Motherwell has spent ten years in Europe as a member of the foreign staff of the Chicago Daily News. He writes out of a first hand knowledge and a thorough study of European conditions and with a penchant for facing actual probabilities rather than ideal possibilities. Part I gives the most detailed and the most likely picture with which this reviewer is acquainted of the chaos that will prevail on the continent of Europe when the Nazi tyranny is removed. Part II gives practical suggestions as to how the work of reconstruction may be begun. Part III offers a blueprint for permanent peace.

Not all authorities will agree with the author's detailed recommendations. But it strikes an amateur that this is an exceedingly wise book and withal a Christian one, a book which we hope will be read widely by politicians, ministers and all others who will help to shape public opinion in the years which lie immediately ahead. Incidentally, Mr. Motherwell notes that the Church is the one institution which will come through the Nazi revolution practically unchanged. He believes it will have an important role to play in the peace that is to come.

The appendix contains a convenient collection of the most important peace utterances—including the Atlantic charter—up to the present time.

E. T. T.

CHRISTIAN BASES OF WORLD ORDER. The Merrick Lectures. *By Henry A. Wallace and Others.* Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 255 pages. $2.00. Christians in increasing numbers, we hope, are beginning to think of the Christian bases of world order. This volume, beginning with the famous lecture by Vice-President Wallace and containing a series of stimulating and informing lectures by outstanding Christian scholars and men of affairs on Fundamental Christian Principles (e. g., God and the World We Live In, The Christian Conception of Man, The Spiritual Bases of Democracy) and on Factors in World Order (e. g., Christianity and the Race Problem, Christianity and the Workers of the World, Human Character and World Order), is one of the most helpful books to orient and guide us in our thinking. It is recommended to all who are interested in the Church and its part in the peace which is to come.

E. T. T.

LIVING DEMOCRACY. *By Lynn Harold Hough.* The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 153 pages. $1.50. *Living Democracy* consists largely of articles written for British and American journals interpreting the two democracies for the benefit of both. There is a good deal of repetition, but on the whole it is a rather pleasing book offering some impressions of England in war time. Dr. Hough has been visiting England, preaching in London's City Temple and other important pulpits for many years. There are some attractive portrayals of the British character revealed under war conditions. As one thinks of the bombed churches in London the sentence comes to mind: "Paris kept its buildings and lost its soul, while London kept its soul and lost its buildings." The chapters on American church life possess some brief but helpful criticisms. The writer's desire for the religious life of his own country is that our Christian churches and educational institutions will be more and more strengthened by a ripe culture and disciplined Christian knowledge. Four sermons preached in English churches make up the latter part of the book.

J. W. J.

SIGNS OF PROMISE. *By Frank S. Hickman, Ph. D.,* Professor of Preaching and Dean of the Chapel at Duke University. The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 186 pages. $1.50. No Christian will take serious issue with the author about his main position: that the Christian faith and life are what the world most needs. The book has greater value, however, as a collection of optimistic essays, from the mind of a preacher, than as candid description of what is, from the mind of a social analyst. The title leads to disappointment, for while the author tells us what the signs of promise *are,* i. e., he defines them, he fails to demonstrate that these signs are now to be seen. He is like a meteorologist who in time of storm tells us what the signs of clearing weather would be but cannot point to any such signs actually in the sky. The individual lectures, however, are interesting enough. "This Time of Crisis" expounds Sorokin's thesis that for the world crisis only spiritual solutions will avail. "Children of the Spirit" is a splendid affirmation of the Christian doctrine of man, especially in contrast to Lin Yutang. "A Spiritual World Order" emphasizes the divine ordering of the world, man's central importance in it and the need for spiritual regeneration. "All Things New" calls for a "religion of invasion," an aggressive attack on evil by Christianity. "Ye Are the Body of Christ" distinguishes various types of churches, stands up for "Essentialism" as against fundamentalism or "radical liberalism" and pleads for a Church which shall combine intellectual freedom and honesty with spiritual fervor and power. If and when the Church by proclaiming these things persuades the world that its ailments, being spiritual, can be only spiritually cured, the signs of promise will point toward dawn. K. J. F.

RETHINKING OUR CHRISTIANITY. *By J. Neal Hughley.* Dorrance and Company, Philadelphia. 237 pages. $2.00. This book is an interpretation of Christianity by a brilliant young Negro scholar. The author is College Minister and Professor of Sociology, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C. The author has sought to interpret the Christian religion by a study of the writings of our leaders today of both the liberal and conservative schools. He finds that one reason for the rise and development of so many sects in our country is that the leaders of these groups think they have the final answer to the question, "What Is Christianity?" Fundamentalists argue with each other and build their opposing camps in an effort to express the meaning of the faith. However, the majority of Christians use words, phrases and symbols without giving them any reality of meaning. The writer's own working idea of Christianity is that of an ongoing process taking on changes in different environments.

The book is well written, clear, understandable, and in a style that leads a reader on to the end. You want to finish it. The writing is free from contention. The central problem at which the writer aims is to see how the Christian faith is related to the practical affairs of men. He sees Chris-

tians as unable to come to a decision about the world. We stand in need of a Christian philosophy. Our duty now is to formulate goals, policies and attitudes which Christians should advocate in post-war reconstruction. We must lend every moral and material means at our disposal to those people who are in the front line of the struggle to save the framework of democratic civilization.

In the history of the Christian religion we do know that each people when they become members of the Kingdom have a peculiar contribution to make. We have always thought of the Negroes as being especially religious. Who knows but what they may make a greater contribution to religious thought and life than we have supposed possible? Among them may be born a great saint through whom God might choose to send further light. This book by a young writer may be a sign indicating coming events. We are grateful for this mind at work in the realm of Christian thought where we are seeking to know our Father's purposes that we may glorify Him.

J. W. J.

CHRISTIAN CRISIS. *By Michael De La Bedoyere.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 210 pages. $1.75. The author, a Roman Catholic journalist and student of public affairs (a Britisher), thinks that Catholics have an urgent and important duty to face up to the practical failure of Christianity in the past as an ordering force in the world, candidly examine the reasons for it, discover the remedies and give some proof to the disillusioned peoples "that some well ordered hope of restoration of civilized order lies in the spiritual and moral inspiration of Christianity." The weaknesses of Christianity, he contends, are to be found much less in the theological and devotional aspects of the Church than in its general moral, cultural, social, political and international aspects. The forces which he thinks need to be overcome are (1) Socialism; (2) Nationalism; and (3) Liberalism, "with Democracy as its political and social expression, Laissez-Faire as its economic aspect and Scientific Progress as its working philosophy." Portugal is held before us as an excellent example of what can be achieved by "the true marriage between Christian spiritual principles and all that is good in modern progress and ideas."

The book is particularly valuable for a Protestant in the light it throws on the Catholic mind and for the understanding it gives us of the role of the Catholic Church in the modern world. But there is much sound thought in the book with which both Protestants and Catholics will agree. The author believes that if "Christianity can be made a public reality in the world by the rightly directed pressure and leadership of the Christian churches, working together in cooperation, where cooperation is possible, and supported by the millions of fully integrated Christians themselves, educated to recognize what Christianity as a spiritual and social force means under the circumstances of today and in the light of the counter forces, then Europe can be saved."

E. T. T.

THE CHURCH IN DISREPUTE. *By Bernard Iddings Bell.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 152 pages. $1.50. The pungent challenge of this book should be studied by every religious leader. Here is a brief volume of masterful diagnosis. Yet its irrepressible hope, based on sound logic and historical insight, will inspire as much as the critical analysis will dismay. Dr. Bell sees the Church in "bondage to a dying social order." But he believes the "saving remnant" will once again speak and challenge the rulers of this world. He sees the inevitable persecution ahead. The book is *per se* gripping and fearless. J. B. B.

WHAT IS RELIGION DOING TO OUR CONSCIENCES? *By George A. Coe.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 120 pages. $1.50. The problem of conscience, both in its method of functioning under different cultures and different historical conditions and in its practical application to specific issues, has ever been an acute one. Strange to relate, religion has not always thrown so much light upon this complicated issue. The author well shows how the pressure of events has affected the operation of the conscience. His most suggestive idea on the whole subject is that the very ambiguities in the application of ethical principles may constitute a potential good, since the Christian conscience is an explorer and discoverer. He treats in a timely way the application of ethical values to such current difficulties as pacifism, the proper distribution of wealth, racialism, nationalism, and the discovery of some practicable method of bringing a permanent peace. Perhaps the greatest weakness of the book is that the author because of his liberal attitude does not quite do justice to the Christian revelation in its ability to regenerate, illuminate and bring a certain certitude to the deliverance of the Christian conscience. The book seems to be more or less a sort of spiritual autobiography. C. V. C.

BECOMING A CHRISTIAN. *By Lewis J. and Helen Hardwicke Sherrill.* The John Knox Press, Richmond, Va. 174 pages. $1.00. From the point of view of one who has purchased every guide for communicants classes which looked at all hopeful, this book is the best available. The reviewer had the opportunity of using it with a pre-Easter class and found it of great value. The Sherrills have made a significant contribution to our Church in many ways in the field of religious education, and their thorough knowledge of the subject makes this book of unqualified value. They know the life and language of childhood and youth; they know the gospel of Christ; and they know how to teach. The book has four sections: 1 For the Class; 2 For Home Reading; 3 For the Pastor; 4 For the Parent. Each member of the class is to have and use his own copy. The approach is vital. A. N. B.

PRAYERS FOR PRIVATE DEVOTIONS IN WAR-TIME. *By Dean Willard L. Sperry.* Harper and Brothers, New York. 64 pages. Paper covers, 75 cents; board covers, $1.00. This is an impressive collection of prayers, with thirty-three written by Dean Sperry himself, the remainder coming from the richest resources of Christian devotional literature across the centuries. The book was prepared originally for distribution to Army chaplains being trained at Harvard, but its compass is great and the prayers here collected will be of incalculable value to many leaders of worship or for private devotions. It is heartily commended. A. N. B.

THE CONTINUING EASTER. *By Winifred Kirkland.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 60 pages. $1.00. Possessing a fine use of the historical imagination, a splendid literary style and an evangelistic spirit, the author has told for us again the old stories of the first Easter in a striking way. She rightly contends that Easter, not Christmas, celebrates the birthday of our faith. She holds that the carrying over of the Easter spirit into our complex modern world would solve many of the problems both of the individual and of society. This little book is suggestive in ideas and devotional in tone. In addition it sets an example for both preacher and layman of how to reconstruct the Bible scenes by a sane use of the historical imagination. C. V. C.

NEW EYES FOR INVISIBLES *By Rufus Jones.* The Macmillan Company, New York. 185 pages. $2.00. Dr. Jones is an honored scholar of the Society of Friends, a professor emeritus of Haverford College. This is a beautifully written, inspiring, heart-warming book. In a very few places the author speaks rather sharply of Calvinism, and we miss a few emphases of matters that we consider fundamental; but the most conservative Southern Presbyterian would find himself in perfect agreement with and greatly helped by practically everything in the book. There is throughout the book a plea for the recognition of the reality of the spiritual facts and values in life—how that is needed in days like these! Dr. Jones is a mystic and makes much of mysticism. Most of us would probably do well to make more of the mystical approach than we do. This little book enables its reader to have communion with a great Christian soul. It should prove most rewarding for ministers and laymen. S. A. C.

ABUNDANT LIVING. *By E. Stanley Jones.* The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, New York and Nashville. 371 pages. $1.00. In the field of devotional literature, already stocked with good books both old and new, Dr. Stanley Jones has made a genuinely outstanding contribution in his pocket edition of *Abundant Living.* The daily readings, covering an entire year, are progressive in spiritual insight and inspiration. The author takes the average layman where he is—questioning the reality of divine resources—and day

by day leads him through sound personal convictions into great social ideals which demand the wisdom and power which God alone can supply. Bible readings suggested for each day and a brief daily prayer added to each stimulating page are calculated to supply a fresh spiritual vigor to every reader. J. B. B.

GUIDEPOSTS FOR YOUTH. *By Lawrence H. Wharton.* Edited by DeWitt Reddick. The John Knox Press, Richmond, Va. $1.00. Recently there has come from the John Knox Press a little volume of addresses to college students, *Guideposts for Youth*, by the late Rev. Lawrence Wharton, D. D., delivered while he was pastor of Highland, The University Presbyterian Church of Austin, Tex. The publication of this is a labor of love and admiration for him undertaken by DeWitt Reddick, representative of a group of University of Texas students to whom he ministered during this pastorate. The book contains fourteen brief sermons characteristic of the messages which he brought to them from Sunday to Sunday.

Dr. Wharton possessed unique abilities as a preacher which, accompanied by his charming personal characteristics, made him unusually successful in his ministry. He was loved by all ages, but especially by young men and women. He was alive, physically, mentally and spiritually. Contacts with him always suggested to the writer of this review, who knew him well, an electric current. It sparkled when touched and was surcharged with "elan vital." The printed words of these addresses, however pleasing, cannot adequately convey their charm as he spoke them, for they lack the grace of his body, the light in his eyes and the lure of his smile. He spoke the language of youth and had the rare ability to couch the fundamentals of a deep philoseophy of living in the terms of everyday thinking and living. He enjoyed life, and this joy and courage in living colored all his thoughts.

These addresses were edited from his notes, which were always hastily made, as if his words could not keep up with his spirit, for he sat at his typewriter in their construction and wrote as he thought, often without capitals or punctuation marks. The entire collection is worthy of the study of all those who would speak acceptably to youth; and the book is an excellent gift for any young man or woman, especially those who are of college age. E. B. P.

KEEP YOUR FAITH. *By T. E. Gouwens.* The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 142 pages. $1.50. Dr. Gouwens is well known in the Church as the pastor of one of our strongest churches, the Second Presbyterian Church of Louisville, Ky. As a writer Dr. Gouwens is equally well known, and this book is up to his usual high standard. In this book Dr. Gouwens has published ten sermons. The title of the book is taken from the first sermon, a sermon in which the preacher issues a clarion call

to all Christians to hold on to their faith. The first sermon serves also as a splendid introduction to the series of sermons as a whole. The purpose which underlies all of these sermons is that of presenting to our generation the firm foundations of the Christian faith. Dr. Gouwens does this under the drive of peculiar sense of urgency, as he is convinced that our generation is presented with the dilemma of "believe or perish."

For preachers this is an excellent volume of sermons for suggestions that will freshen and strengthen their preaching. For laymen it is a readable volume that presents simply and powerfully the reasons which Christians can give for the faith that is in them. H. R.

THE ART OF PREACHING. *By Arthur Allen.* Philosophical Library, 15 E. 40th Street, New York. 93 pages. 75 cents. It is amazing to find a writer who limits himself to so few pages on any subject as this one does on preaching. He is evidently an exponent of short sermons, though he does not say so in these brief pages. He admonishes the preacher to learn "the art of leaving out." He must ruthlessly cut out superfluous passages, he says. This book is Exhibit A on how to do it. Charles S. MacFarland, General Secretary Emeritus of the Federal Council of Churches, writes the foreword, commending the little book, which was published first in Great Britain. For those who might not read a longer, more comprehensive book, this one is well worth while. It leaves the reader wishing the author had not stopped so soon. A. N. B.

GOD THE ETERNAL PARADOX, and other Lenten Sermons. *By Paul Zeller Strodach.* The Muhlenberg Press, Phildelphia. 244 pages. $2.00. This is a series of sermons on gospel themes for the Pre-Lenten and Lenten Season from leading clergymen of the United Lutheran Church in America. It is the third series of this kind. This book will be of special interest to preachers of the ritualistic churches and to preachers of other Churches who are laying increasing emphasis on the Pre-Easter Season. Some will not care for the very plausible description of Lent, nor will they be impressed by the scheme of special sermons for special Sundays, "Septuagesima," "Sexagesima," etc., *ad infinitum!* But all who love the Lord and His gospel will have their hearts warmed by the stimulating and suggestive presentation of the great truths of our faith presented in a distinctly Biblical and evangelical manner. R. A. L.

WHAT IS YOUR NEED? *By Stuart R. Oglesby.* The John Knox Press, Richmond, Va. 118 pages. $1.00. A volume of twelve sermons by one of our own Southern Presbyterian ministers and published by our own John Knox Press. These two facts alone will doubtless induce many of our ministers to buy the book. Each sermon purports to be based upon the same text—Philippians 4:19—but in some cases the association seems

forced. The sermons, however, are helpful, written in a popular, conversational style and replete with illustrations. J. B. C., Jr.

WHEN CHRIST WENT TO CALVARY. Lenten Sermons *by Walter F. Troeger and Harry E. Olsen.* The Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis. 82 pages. $1.00. The eight sermons of Mr. Troeger deal with incidents of Passion Week concerning Judas, John, Peter, Pilate, and Barabbas, and include as first and last of the series a devotional study of Gethsemane and of "The Supreme Sacrifice" on Calvary. The sermons are readable and suggestive, with apt illustrations. Mr. Olsen's theme is "Salvation" and his sermons deal with it in its Scriptural foundation, its supernatural nature, its Christ-centeredness, the Church's part, the Resurrection's guarantee. The theme is well worked out, with practical application. W. T. W.

THE EMPTY TOMB. Sermons for the Easter Season. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis. 64 pages. $1.00. These sermons, by ten different ministers, present the Easter message in a remarkably comprehensive way and with a thoroughly evangelical and spiritual emphasis. A minister's Easter preaching would likely be the better for reading them. W. T. W.

A CHAIN OF PRAYER ACROSS THE AGES. Forty Centuries of Prayer, from 2000 B. C. *Compiled and arranged for daily use by Selina Fitzherbert Fox.* With Index of subjects and authors. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. 320 pages. $2.00. Many collections of prayers have appeared in recent years, but few so comprehensive, and none more deservedly popular than this well known and frequently quoted compendium. It was first printed in January, 1913. Since that time it has been frequently reprinted—in six different editions—and appears now in this new American edition. The prayers comes from the Christian saints through the centuries and are grouped and indexed so that one may use them in his private devotions or quickly find a prayer for a particular need or for a particular occasion. They are the kind of prayers that Christians through the ages have found most helpful to their devotional life. The purchase of this book will prove an excellent investment for any Christian minister or layman. E. T. T.

THE SHEPHERDESS. *By Arthur Wentworth Hewitt.* Willett, Clark and Company, Chicago. 200 pages. $1.75. From advice to the pastor in *Highland Shepherds* Hewitt has entered in the present volume the field of advice to the pastor's wife. He is utterly frank, and illustrating from a rich store of experience he offers many practical suggestions. "The Shepherdess as a Lover" is his best chapter, and his special care in writing it shows that he was aware of the difficulties. Although in certain respects he is unconvincing, the central thought of the chapter is sound.

The author's frequent use of a slap-stick style of discourse is not the

most appropriate medium for the instruction of the shepherdess and is not essential to sustain her interest in this subject. The basic view of the author is that the essential functions of the shepherdess are those common to all wives and her distinctive duties are optional with each pastor's wife. It is difficult to reconcile this logically with his opinion in the preface (where the need for this book is defended) that the work of the pastor's wife is "as distinctly a profession as that of the teacher, the nurse or the pastor himself."

L. F. K.

PERSONAL RELIGION. *By Douglas Clyde Macintosh.* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. xvi and 411 pages. $3.00. By any standard this is a major book. Few, if any, books on religion issued this winter will be of as much permanent value. Dr. Macintosh has written in a clear, simple, thought-provoking, heart-warming style a great book on personal religion. We can never have the world we desire until we have personal religion rooted in a genuine religious experience. Part I deals with "The Principles of Personal Religion." Chapter one, on "Old-Time Religion," contains one hundred pages devoted to the description of the vital personal religion of an English family of the early nineteenth century. This is used as a background for contrast with our present-day lukewarmness and lack of vital religious experience. Chapter two, "Modern Evangelicalism," is a brilliant though not fully successful effort to make the old evangelical doctrines of sin, Christ, redemption, conversion and the Christian life meaningful to modern men. Chapter three is an excellent discussion of "Realism in Prayer." Part II is entitled "The Propagation of Personal Religion." It has chapters on "Missions and Modernity"; "The True Church and Ecumenicism"; "Personal Evangelism and Religious Education" and "Evangelism Today and Tomorrow." This section of slightly more than two hundred pages deals in forthright fashion with several controversial issues. Dr. Macintosh is more liberal than most of the readers of this REVIEW but in the main his basic conclusions would probably please the REVIEW's readers. He is a congregationalist in his view of the Church; he has what some of us would consider too high an opinion of the value of the Oxford Group approach, and few would like his willingness if necessary to make "a non-Christological statement of the essential message of Christianity." This rich, meaty book will improve your sermons and your intelligent evangelistic zeal. Buy it and use it!

H. G. G.